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Labor Age

La Follette's Victory

The Pied Piper of Humantown

The Reporter Reports Himself

Aches and Ills of the British King Coal

Labor Age

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FREEMEN—THE BATTLE CONTINUES!

BUDDING poets, Clinton Gilbert says, were peculiarly attracted to the La Follette Movement. They swamped the National Headquarters in Chicago with evidences of their genius.

That may be very true. Gilbert is the writer who coined that historic phrase that Bryan "would be for evolution if the monkeys had votes." His opinion is of the greatest weight. But if poets flocked to the Progressive banner in the late campaign, crimes against doggerel itself were the specialty of the Republican advertising agents. The moron-mind was at work in its own shrewd way for the House of Have.

What can be more divine, as an instance, than this lovely rhyme, put forward in the interests of that peer of advertising agents, Senator Walter Edge of New Jersey: "Coolidge, Dawes, Edge—America's Prosperity Pledge." With the aid of his enormous slush fund, Mr. Edge had this swinging song pasted all over the Skeeter State. The taxicab drivers in Atlantic City were even compelled to paste it on their windshields, no matter what their political faith or poetic tastes might have been.

Doggerel, Money and Fear—such were the stock in trade of the Tory camp. It triumphed—this time. It made a nation of so-called freemen shrink into a mass of cowards. It made a people, talking loudly in terms of the Church Federations of our various small towns, a mob of cynics laughing at Corrup-

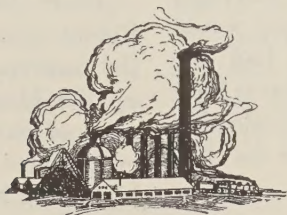
tion and Immorality in High Places, as they shiveringly held on to their pocketbooks.

Stupidity, Wealth and Power won the day in 1924. If that were the last chapter, then we might all well despair. But far from the last, it is only the beginning. Stupidity, Wealth and Power have always won at first, in every battle for Progress and Freedom. So did they do for the Slave Power—even after the popular hero Fremont was pitted against them, as the leader of the newly born Republican party. But the Hand of Time was against them. It always is with the Rising Group—with the way of Progress. Life does not stand still. We must move on. If we will not—as Stupidity and Wealth and Power most always will not do—then so much the worse for those who stand pat.

The Progressive cause will come out victorious in the fights of the days to come, as surely as today the negro slave walks among us a freeman—at least in name. Think of the dark days that immediately preceded the election of Abraham Lincoln. Think, that it was only a few months before that great anti-slavery victory that John Brown was murdered by the United States Government as a traitor, because he wanted to free the blacks. Think, that it was Robert E. Lee who in the name of the Slave-owned United States took John Brown prisoner—proclaiming him a traitor to the Slave Power.

So will the Dawn come after Darkness now. Wait, Work—and See.

Labor Age



La Follette's Victory

By LOUIS F. BUDENZ

THE
REACTIONARY
VIEW—
A CHALLENGE



New York
Evening Post
Thus Gloats
Over "Victory"

WASHINGTON is the home of cynics innumerable.

They have had a look behind the political curtain. As Dickens tells us of his own views in *DAVID COPPERFIELD*: they have found it to be not what it seems. Cynicism is the grand total of their discoveries.

But some of them are real good fellows—gentle cynics, I would call them. One of these stood with me one day on the steps of the Capitol. Let's see—it was last July, just before the campaign began in earnest.

"You folks will gain a moral victory," he said with a sympathetic smile, speaking of the Independent Progressive effort, "but the trouble is, an immoral victory is much more effective."

Our votes would be stolen. Our beautiful pure motives would be raped. The Press would howl at us. The Money would flow against us. And by the time it was over, we would be "enemies of the people," as per the Ibsen idea.

That was what he told me would happen. His judgment is almost uncanny. That we had discovered long ago, out in a large Mid-western town, which, we had proceeded to set upside down during the war. He had helped us to do it, before he had come to Washington.

Well, he was right. In a way. Everyone actively engaged in the campaign knew that we weren't going to elect La Follette—and we didn't. Everyone actively in the campaign hoped we would run second through the country—and we didn't. That is perfectly true. No one can deny it.

There was an old Socialist out in St. Louis a few years ago, who was put up as a candidate for the council. It was before the days of woman suffrage, when we were still talking about how women would "purify" the Government. The old man had two sons in his family, both Socialists, and of course both pledged to vote for him. And yet, when the election returns came out, there was only one vote for him in his precinct.

The old man was angry. "Those boys of mine are no good," he grumbled; and gave them hell for not voting for him. It never occurred to him for some time that the election officials in the precinct had merely cheated him in the count. A little incident like that was to be expected all over the country in this show-down. Every effort was made to diminish the apparent vote for the "Third Party."

Moral Victories Count

All the other things that my friend predicted were also very natural. They occurred. They gave Wall Street control of the White House for another four years. They produced "an immoral victory."

But the moral victory was substantial—and it will be the more lasting of the two. It is the only form of victory that is lasting, because it deals with the Things that Are to Be, not with Those that Are. Lincoln was defeated for the United States Senate, in his famous debate with Douglas; but the foundations were laid for the rail splitter's future triumph over the "Little Giant" for the Presidency.

Bob La Follette and those who followed him have won more than the 5,000,000 Progressive votes represent. They have laid the base for a Movement, that will cause a new alignment in American life. It will go on, growing, halting, hesitating, expanding—until it results in a Coming Into Power of the Progressive Forces.

That was the thing the Reactionary Forces were disturbed about, more than anything else. That is why they chose to dynamite La Follette in every way possible: with Hard Times Bunk, with Red Hysteria, with Fear of an Electoral Deadlock. That is why they held before the eyes of the Farmers and Workers the dread picture of a Panic. That is why they stirred the Catholics, with tales that the parochial school system was doomed, by reason of the Child Labor Amendment! That is why they frightened the wits out of the anti-Catholics, by the carefully spread rumor that Government Ownership of Railroads would end forever our public schools! It was not present defeat from the Progressives

that they were troubled over; it was the strangulation of the new infant that they had in view.

There they failed, and failed miserably. La Follette's own clarion call for continued battle is the answer. He knows well how hard is the climb up the Mountain of Truth and Achievement, that most of our efforts are merely the chiselling out of crude steps on which others may continue to mount higher. The spontaneous movement in all the states to carry on in the Progressive fight is evidence that this is a beginning—down in among the people themselves, for Freedom.

What Gompers Knew

American Labor found itself more united in the battle of 1924 than ever before in its history. No matter what may be formally said at El Paso, that unity will continue, and become firmer. There are many reasons for this. President Samuel Gompers shrewdly championed his Non-Partisan policy in the past, because he knew that Labor had not reached the stage of voting as a unit. He knew that great sections of the Movement were tied up, by sentiment or appointments, with local political machines. Roughly, the building trades have been peculiarly identified with local political ambitions. They have generally taken on the colors of the dominant political group in the larger cities—and often for reasons that were plausible from a labor viewpoint. Their fights for control of the building industry are local in character, primarily. A fair deal in strikes from the municipality has led on to closer and closer relations, until in many instances their fortunes and those of the political machine are more or less intertwined.

When a political boss, of one of the old parties, rising out of local victories, needs assistance nationally, it is only a natural thing that these unions should respond to his requests.

Gompers for years has "bluffed" the old parties, or at least a portion of them, into the belief that the labor vote was somewhat automatic. He did a good job of it, considering how slender were his supports. Now, the campaign of 1924 has let the old parties see what Gompers saw all along: that the A. F. of L. endorsement does not swing Labor at the present day as a unit by any means. The cynical disregard which they both showed for the hopes and demands of the Labor Movement in the summer national conventions will be repeated, very likely, in the years to come.

The Democratic Party alone may feel some compunction about turning its back on the workers,

though it has not indicated its contrition as yet. But whatever its wishes, it is estopped in a tragic way from functioning as a united party in the future. The South is its sole solid hope, and the the South is intensely dark and Reactionary. The South is dead set against most of the things for which Labor stands.

The question of racial and religious prejudice will haunt the next National Democratic gathering, as it did the fatal spectacle at Madison Square Garden. The emergence of "Al" Smith in New York, out of the wreckage, brings that conflict to a head again. Smith is a Catholic, and insists upon the world knowing it. Still a comparatively young man, his figure will loom large at any Democratic conference or convention. A product of Tammany Hall, he has always kept himself ahead of both the Hall and the Party as a whole. But he can serve, nationally, only to trouble the Democratic waters. Frantic efforts will undoubtedly be made to prevent another catastrophe for the Party such as occurred this year; but, nevertheless, an impasse is apparently in store, blocking the Party again from any substantial appeal to Liberals, Laborites or Progressives.

An American Genro

The Republican Party, for its part, will not and need not worry about Progress at all. We have been rapidly building up in this country something that has existed for many years in our Eastern rival, Japan. There they possess an extra-legal government—the Genro, as it is called, or the Elder Statesmen. We have no Elder Statesmen, but we have an extra-legal government—founded on the Monopoly Interests. Today this extra-legal government and the legal government are peculiarly intertwined. Mr. Mellon, for example, is a member of both; and he occupies a fortunate position for the one, and an unfortunate position for the other, in being Secretary of the Treasury.

Now, the Republican Party has been the instrument more than any other, which has done the hard work of establishing this New Government for America. It has accomplished the interesting task of moving the Capital bodily from Washington to Wall Street. Its whole future lies in making the Genro permanent. General Dawes, of the Dawes Report, is not an accident, nationally or internationally. He represents distinctly the trend in this direction: to bring governments and industry everywhere under control of the Wall Street Combine.

The Non-Partisan Policy has, then, been "found out." It will continue to function for some time, perhaps for a long time; but it can easily be a means

for endorsing again a Progressive Movement, as it was in 1924. Underneath it, will probably go a further reaching out, to solidify Labor in support of a united policy of political action. The less that the old parties take Labor seriously, the more pronounced will be the move toward a solid front of this sort.

In the beginning, within the Progressive group itself, there will be a tendency to run candidates only against Reactionaries—at least, in the Congressional contests. The aim will be to strengthen the anti-Reactionary Bloc in both houses; and there will be great hesitancy to defeat Progressive representatives, even running under old party labels, by dividing the Progressive vote. This is the apparent policy, for the first few years.

A. F. of L. "Red" Plank

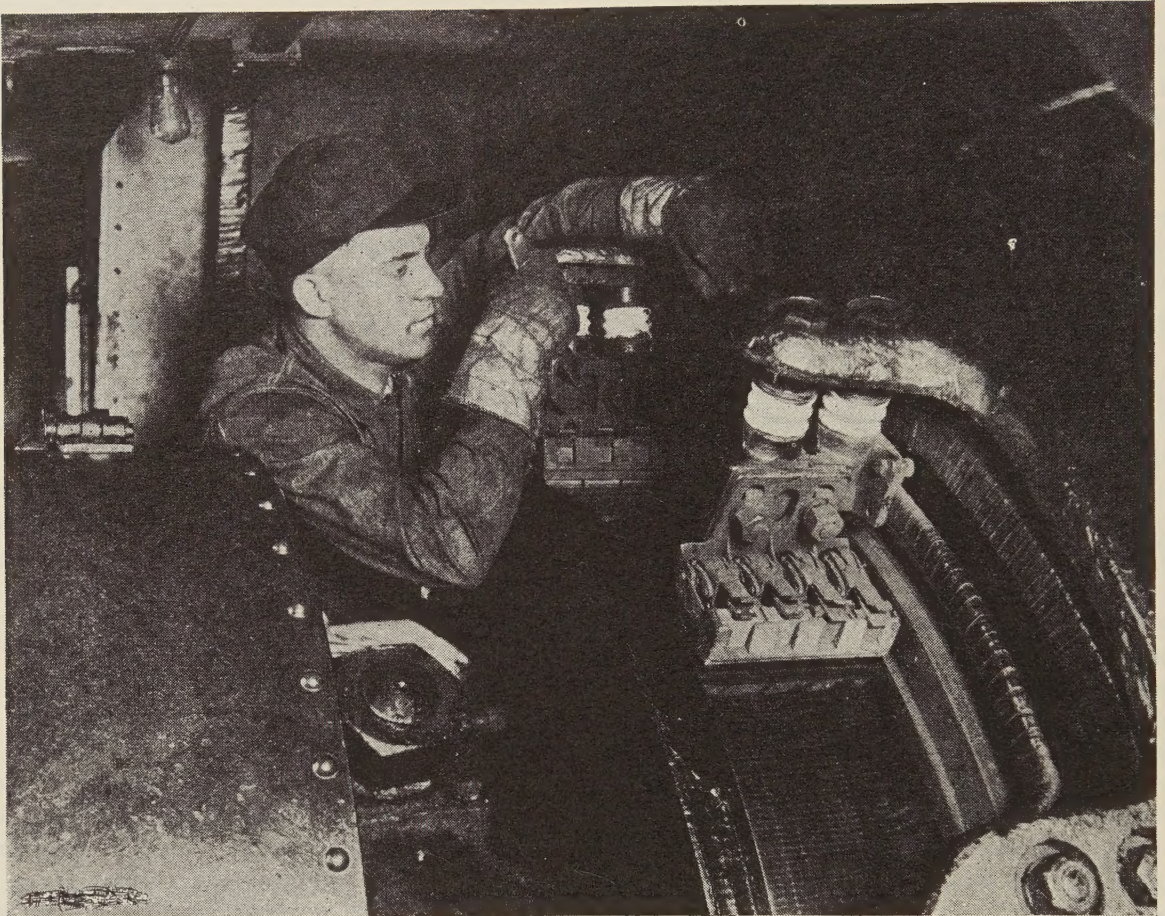
Another thing, overlooked in the main by the political observers, is that it was the A. F. of L. plank on the Supreme Court which was chosen by the Republicans for their attack. It was the plank called "red." The A. F. of L. went through a Baptism of Fire in the experience of being berated as "traitors" and "enemies of the people." All the past patriotism of the Federation did not save it from this onslaught. It was not Government Ownership of Railroads or Public Superpower which drew this fire, but the curbing of the Courts. That was the "dangerous" thing, the "foreign" thing, the "anti-American" thing.

Even under this broadside, the Federation cannot draw back from support of this plank—as indeed, it shows no signs of doing. In the most elemental demands of the workers—the request for a living wage and decent working conditions—the way is blocked by the autocratic attitude of the Courts. The power of the injunction has been blown up, until it practically prevents Labor from moving in any forward direction.

In being true only to itself in the immediate trade union battle, Organized Labor must continue the fight on the Courts. It is that, or perish. And yet that thing has been stamped "red"; and hope for that advance can only be found in the Progressive camp, undisturbed by being called "red," "white," "blue," or any other color.

The Genro will interpret the events of this November as a carte blanche order from the people to go ahead and do as they like. The Railroad Brotherhoods may taste the first dose of the medicine. (They are now before the Labor Board). There will not be much hope that Labor can expect much, except hostility at every turn. The Courts, too, on

NOT YET FREE !



Ewing Galloway

Railroad labor struck for freedom on November 4th. Neither politically nor industrially has it succeeded—yet! But there is no letting up in the effort. As witness, the Pennsylvania shopmen's case, now being pressed in the courts.

their part, have no reason to feel particularly modest in handing out dire punishments to the offending workers. They were the "sacred" stones of the edifice, upheld in particular by the people.

The Labor and the Liberal World in America has no place to go, in fine, save to the Progressive political group. In challenging the old order, La Follette has gained a magnificent triumph—in giving a glimpse of light to those kicked about and tread upon by the winning Reaction. He did not create the situation. But he had the courage to meet the situation—and to point to the road that will lead to Freedom.

If our fathers in the fight for Freedom had become downhearted over some of their half-triumphs—because they did not win at the first throw of the political dice—then we would all still be British slaves and subject to the Slave Power. We have done wonders in the present crisis. We have registered 5,000,000 votes against the Powers That Be—despite all their money and their threats.

Courage, patience, unceasing education—these will continue the battle of 1924. We are given a great privilege—to strike as freemen, again and again, until the Monopoly Power is overthrown. Now for the next tussle!

Unionism—What Is It?

By CHARLES ERVIN

An innocent question has many possibilities.

So is it with the question asked by Mr. Ervin. We talk a great deal about Unionism. But what does it signify? What can it do? What are its limitations?

All sorts of folks may say all sorts of things, in answer. We submit the clear-cut statement of a student of labor problems, in order to suggest further discussion.

Can Unionism do all the things some of us think it can? Or is it necessarily limited?

Well, read over this little analysis of the job of the Union—and then, let us have your own view.

WHAT is it? Somebody will say that everybody knows what it is. I wonder if most of us do know what it really is. Maybe the scientific sharps are right when they say that you can be so close to a thing that you are blind to its real structure.

A group of people get together to protect their interests within a certain trade in which they struggle day after day to get a livelihood. Why do they have to struggle day after day to get this livelihood? Because they work for some one called an "employer."

And what is an "employer"? He is a man who is trying to make not only a livelihood but more than a livelihood. He can only struggle for a livelihood with his own hands so he is trying to get more than a livelihood by means of the hands of a group of workers.

Machine Control Is Life Control

Owning the machines at which they have to work, he controls their lives absolutely unless they pool their combined labor power against his ownership of the machines. By doing this they can force from the employer certain improvements in wages and conditions which they would be powerless to do separately. But there is a limit to what they can force from the employer as long as the capitalist system endures. Rather than take no profit and return to work himself for a mere livelihood, he will take less profit. But if compelled to a point where he has no profit then he will go out of business.

The limit of union achievement therefore within

the capitalist system is to make the employer give such conditions and such wages as will still permit him to make a profit. He is not in business to give work to his fellowmen. He has no interests other than a profit.

There is no such thing as "revolutionary unionism." There is such a thing possible, however, as a revolution in the economic system. This would involve a replacement of the production of things by many workers for the profit of a few with the production of things for use. Not the destruction of capital but the taking over of it by those whose combined toil has produced it.

There are unions in this and other countries whose members see that they can never secure a real living until the workers used their combined power to replace the present economic system by one that will give to each worker with hand and brain a real living. This, however, means that there are organizations of workers who understand that there is a definite limit to what they can secure through unionism.

Unions Are Vital

All this does not mean that unionism is not the most vital thing in the life of every skilled and unskilled worker today. We live in the present economic system and merely seeing the desirability of a new one does not bring it. Without the unions the workers would be living today in a state of absolute slavery. It would be impossible to exaggerate their importance both to those who are in them as well as to those who are out of them. What improvement in working conditions and wages the unorganized have been given is only through the fear of their joining the unions when the employers would be compelled to give more.

Not only have the unions forced the employers to give the workers more wages, shorter hours, and better conditions in the shop but they have taught a portion of the workers something of what can be done through organizing their mass strength. They are preparing the workers slowly but surely to take real power to themselves to be used in putting an end to the injustice that they have been able to partially curtail through the formation of the unions.

But to give credit to the magnificent work that unionism has done and is doing for the workers, and to appreciate what a terrible calamity its disappear-

EL PASO—AND AFTER

AMERICAN Unionism, as represented by the A. F. of L., has been meeting at El Paso, Texas.

Color was lent to this Congress of Labor by the presence of a goodly number of delegates from the Mexican trade unions, meeting just across the river. The alliance of American and Mexican Labor was cemented. Both pledged fealty to the aims and aspirations of the other. A sort of Monroe Doctrine in the Labor World has thus been set up.

Domestically, the meeting appears colorless, at first sight. The Declaration for Industrial Democracy, which signalized the Portland meeting, was not enlarged upon. An appeal was made to the other elements in the Industrial World, to join hands in making it effective. But flesh and blood was not yet put on the skeleton of the plan announced a year ago.

The report on the course of action politically was what could be expected. The rank and file of the American unions are not prepared to make a straight-out declaration for an independent movement. They will remain within the limits of the Non-Partisan Policy. Such a policy does not prohibit them, however, from endorsing independent efforts in the future—in 1926 and 1928—as they did in 1924.

The endorsement of La Follette's views on the Supreme Court shows that the opening for such action is still there. It would be sheer folly to believe that either of the Old Parties would ever take up this issue, which they regard as a high-charged wire. On the other hand, Labor itself must continue to emphasize this issue, until it be adopted. For Labor has no hope from the Courts today—least of all from the Sacred Cow, known as the Supreme Court.

American Labor is compelled on many fields to appear to be marking time. It cannot do this in reality, however, or it is doomed. It must continue the fight, industrially and politically. Reaction will give it no quarter. In the last campaign the A. F. of L. was daubed with "red" by Dawes and his gang. "Move Forward," is the demand of the times on the Labor Movement.

ance would work, does not mean that we should not face the fact that it cannot secure full economic freedom for the workers.

Let us take that worst of all plagues that afflicts the modern world—"unemployment." One hundred per cent unionism within the capitalist system cannot drive it away permanently. It is a direct product of the system. It is a sickness caused directly by the insane, disorderly system of private capitalism. But while unionism cannot cure it, it can relieve immensely the suffering that it causes thousands of innocent people.

Hitting "Out-of-Work"

One union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, has already done so in the great Chicago clothing market. Some other unions have followed suit. An unemployment fund of over \$1,500,000 has been amassed in Chicago in a year. The employers and the workers each contributed half of this sum and it is now being distributed to those who while they are willing to work have no work. It is

not a matter of charity in any sense but a matter of partial justice. As a matter of strict justice it should all come out of the pockets of those who amass profits from the toil of the clothing workers. But without a union this partial justice would have been impossible.

It is the belief of the writer that the work of the unions would be more efficient if every member of them understood just what can and cannot be accomplished within the present economic system. It is also his belief that only those really serve their fellow workers who never fear to tell them the truth about every weapon used in the struggle to better their conditions. To hold out false hopes is as much a betrayal as to sell them out to the enemy.

Unionism is a most glorious chapter in the history of the march of the workers toward real freedom but it is not the final one. That has yet to be written and cannot be until the workers use their organized power to put an end to a system that compels them to bargain with anyone for the sale of their labor power.

The Reporter Reports Himself

His Salary Should Go Up and Up

By HOWARD A. LAMB

*So here's to the gallant reporters,
The boys with the pencils and pads,
The calm, undisturbable, cool, imperturbable,
Nervy, inquisitive lads.
Each time we pick up a paper
Their valorous deeds we should bless,
The bold, reprehensible, brave, indispensable,
Sensible lads of the press.*

—FLACCUS in *The Conning Tower*, N. Y. World.

STAR reporters usually get the best assignments, like going to the front in war time or interviewing Mary Pickford or the Pope, but there's one assignment with a kick in it that comes most frequently to the common or garden variety of reporter, and it is this: "You're fired! Go out and get another job."

In New York City, where flocks of eager out-of-town newspaper men are continually knocking for admission, this has always been an assignment that required all the resourcefulness of even the most experienced reporter, but in the last year the difficulties have increased until they are quite as "appalling" as the "mounting costs" of newspaper production mentioned by Frank Munsey whenever he knocks another daily in the head.

Blue envelopes that used to come in singles or doubles or occasionally even by the dozen are now distributed in carload lots, so that the whole newspaper atmosphere has become suffused indigo.

At last it becomes apparent that aged and jobless newspapermen must be taken care of like other down-and-outs, and we read that a start may be made during the year on the James Gordon Bennett Memorial Home for New York Journalists, for which there will be available \$3,000,000 when the estate of the former HERALD owner is finally settled. The plan is to spend \$60,000 on the first unit of the building and make a home for 25 men.

From Charles D. Haines, publisher of Altamonte Springs, Florida, comes the announcement of a gift of \$150,000 to the Florida Press Association for the establishment of a home for aged newspaper men and a school of journalism, while W. Thornton Sharp, treasurer of the Newspaper Press Fund of England, on a recent visit to this country, sought to interest American publishers in forming a similar organization in the United States.

The British organization, of which Viscount Burnham is president, was started in 1864 for the relief of "necessitous members of the literary departments of the press, who are members of the fund, and for their widows and families." It is not a charity. Part of the funds are raised at an annual dinner, where the Prince of Wales presided this year, and \$100,000 was raised.

A Home for Incurable Reporters

Journalists are public servants and the public should be willing to contribute to a fund to insure their future, but somehow the idea of dying in a home for incurable reporters does not appeal to this one. It is difficult to conceive of any live newspaperman, even after he may have become lame and partially blind and deaf in one ear, who would be willing to back off into a home for the aged to wait for "thirty." He might be tempted to burn down the works just to see the fire department in action again.

What reporters want is enough salary to pay for a life insurance policy of their own, so that when they die their children won't become charges on the community, as they frequently do now. Reporters would also like more time of their own for recreation or improvement of their minds.

The misfortune of the reporter is that he spends his life looking out for everybody's business so that it is nobody's business to see that he is properly paid. Perhaps he has worked on one newspaper for 15 or 20 years, pouring his heart and soul, his very lifeblood, into its columns day by day for the instruction, guidance and protection of thousands of readers. Then, without warning, comes the blue envelope, with a week or two of advance pay, and he is thrown out on the street to root, hog or die.

You don't neglect a burglar that way. When a porchclimber becomes too old and stiff to scale a column successfully and gets caught you give him a comfortable home in Sing Sing for life and try to reform him.

"The Grand Perhaps"

A reporter's life has always been synonymous with insecurity, but in New York it has at length reached that perfect balance between now-you've-got-a-job

and now-you-haven't, which the poet described as "the grand perhaps." The suspension of the *CALL*, and its successor, the *LEADER*, threw some newspapermen out of work, but the great scattering occurred when the *GLOBE*, the *MAIL* and the *HERALD*, employing thousands of men and women, were throttled in quick succession by Frank Munsey.

From an economic standpoint at least Mr. Munsey cannot be blamed for snuffing out three dailies engaged in futile business competition; journalistic deadwood must be ruthlessly cut away. In 1923 there was a decrease of 81 papers, five of them dailies, in the United States. Consolidation of small papers into large ones and multiplication of chain newspapers has only begun. With the perfection of the flying machine and radio, even regional or national newspapers published simultaneously in several cities after the British fashion becomes a possibility. Lord Northcliffe looked forward to a time when the London man in New York would be able to have his *LONDON EVENING NEWS* next morning with his coffee and rolls at the Waldorf.

Not only is the number of newspapers decreasing but the size of the reportorial staffs is being diminished, co-operative news gathering organizations doing the work that staff men used to do. Syndicate writing also diminishes the crew. But there are still approximately 3,200 men and women in the editorial departments of the principal Manhattan and Brooklyn newspapers, a few score additional being employed by the news associations and trade and suburban dailies of Greater New York.

Trying to Hook On

City editors differ in their estimates of the number of unemployed. Some guess 200, others 800. To the fellow plodding his weary way from one newspaper office to another in search of a job and getting no farther than the office boy it seems more like 1,000. But even if there are no more than 500, imagine what it means. Five hundred ambitious reporters, rewrite and desk men milling around in a frantic effort to hook on somewhere; 3,200 equally ambitious desperately trying to hang on.

Each man with a job knowing that on the outside are 500 others, lean, hungry and agile, willing to commit any crime but murder to get what he's got. City editors occasionally firing a man or two to "throw a scare" into the others. The whole mob of workers, hired as indiscriminately as they are fired, underpaid, dissatisfied, continually trying to find a way to jump somewhere else where they may improve their condition, their health failing as they attempt, after a hard day's work, to cudgel their fagged and

poisoned brains into writing a short story or vaudeville sketch or drama that will bring in some extra money. Meanwhile, some 20 schools of journalism throughout the country pouring fledglings into the hopper at the rate of 2,000 a year.

It's unjust, shameful, a reproach to all concerned, but we've been accustomed to it for so long that we take it for granted.

But there you have it: Fewer newspapers, more schools of journalism; fewer jobs, more men to squeeze into them; the survival of the fittest carried to an absurdity.

"Economy"—What Crimes Are Committed in Thy Name

There comes to mind the newspaper where we reporters, after a long day's work, were required on three nights a week to read proofs up to midnight or later, burning our eyes out over the five and six-point type used to save space. Two reporters could be hired for half the cost of a competent proofreader furnished by the Typographical Union, so that after one sleepy-headed cub had read the galley proof another would read the page proof to catch what the other had missed and then a desk man would correct the corrections of both. All in the name of economy and efficiency!

On this paper new reporters were hired so frequently to replace the stream of dissatisfied ones who were leaving that members of the staff seldom had time to get acquainted with each other. The editor, cast off a Hearst paper after ten years of faithful service, was a conscientious, hard working newspaper man, but he was already near fifty and, knowing it was the last good job he would ever have, he had no intention of being pried loose.

This made him wary of hiring any bright young fellow who might squeeze him out. So he kept himself surrounded with dumb-bells and wondered why his paper was no good. One can see him still, dragging himself into the office in the morning more tired than when he went home at night, growing gray around the temples from worry, and elephantine around the waist from lack of exercise, waiting for the bugle call.

A Candy Shop Never Opened

As for the editorial writer, salary \$45 a week, he passed on long ago. He used to complain about the way his editorials were butchered by his superior and swore he would have enough money saved in a year to open a candy store and get out of the newspaper game for good. Then one morning we were shocked to read his obituary.

The last job this reporter was fired from was

with a news gathering association, salary \$35 a week. All us district men had to work every other Sunday, for which we were paid \$3. To keep general assignment men sufficiently occupied, they were worked three nights a week in addition to a full shift during the day. The city editor was kind-hearted, and he tried to arrange it so that most of his men should "cover" a luncheon or dinner often enough to get two or three square meals a week. But the poor man used to be puzzled often to pick out a reporter whose clothes were sufficiently presentable to permit his being sent to the Waldorf or Commodore on such reclamation work.

Salaries of newspapermen in New York, where the cost of living is higher than elsewhere and almost twice what it is in Los Angeles, are so embarrassingly small that they are not often mentioned, even among friends. Cub reporters may get \$20 to \$30 a week, the same as stenographers. More experienced men are willing to work for \$35, \$40, \$45 and \$50. On the best papers desk and rewrite men get \$60 to \$75. There are numbers of reporters that also get that, but reporters who are paid \$100 or \$150 are among the favored few.

The political correspondent of one New York paper receives \$10,000 a year, and more than that is probably paid to a few news writers who are able to syndicate their output. Damon Runyon, Hearst man, looks forward to a time when top-notch sports writers will be able to get \$100,000 a year. The prospects for the expert in a special field are good. It is for him, indeed, that the old all-around newspaper man is rapidly being shelved. The increased division and specialization of labor found profitable elsewhere pays in newspaper work as well.

The Genial Reporter

However, the bulk of newspaper reporting is still done by men of general training and will be for some time to come, particularly in the smaller cities. One dependable reporter is considered as good as another for covering most news events, whether it be a murder, a divorce scandal, a political meeting, a liquor raid or the launching of a ship. The time when police courts shall be covered by lawyer-reporters, hospitals by doctor-reporters, political rallies by ex-ambassadors and labor meetings by trained economists is still some distance in the future. In fact, the reporter's lack of technical equipment is likely to be an advantage, because it enables him to see his subject as the people he writes for would and compels him to write in language they can understand.

With the reporter on a technical magazine or trade paper the situation is reversed and it is tech-

nical knowledge alone that counts. Working in a restricted sphere he gains specialized knowledge that makes him more valuable every year. For this reason salaries on the best of these publications begin about where they leave off on the dailies. Editors of periodicals of this kind unknown to the general public are paid as much as managing editors of the biggest city dailies. Hence it is that graduates of journalism schools sometimes seek positions on such publications in preference to the dailies.

The general reporter, on the other hand, may find that the longer he sticks to his job the less he is worth. As the years slip by and the rosy horizon of youth fades into the gray disillusion of experience the reporter is in danger of losing that enthusiasm which is his chief asset, and to do so is fatal.

The reporter is at a disadvantage in another way, as compared to other workers. The doctor or lawyer, for instance, as the years go by, acquires a clientele of growing value. The business man builds up an establishment that may support him in his declining years. The reporter is only worth what he can write from day to day—that and what he can save out of his salary.

No Excuse

But with the rapid elimination of weak papers in favor of strong ones, the growth of advertising and the number of people who read newspapers, the latter are getting on such a sound financial basis that there is no longer the slightest excuse for paying reporters less than barbers, hackmen and bricklayers. That there never was a valid excuse is proved by the fact that the two most successful publishers of the generation, William Randolph Hearst and Lord Northcliffe, have always paid their men most. When Henry Ford raised the wages of his messenger boys and scrub women to what some reporters are working for now his competitors said it couldn't be done, but Henry seems to be getting along.

If newspaper owners are sure it isn't their own bad management that makes it necessary to maintain reporters on the economic level of janitors and window cleaners, let them raise the advertising or subscription rates—or both. The public ought to be willing to bear that much for the benefit of the enterprising but unselfish writing men who have always been looking out for everybody else's rights but their own. If big corporations find it profitable to pay publicity men \$20,000 to \$50,000 a year to get what they want before the public, the latter ought to be willing to pay its publicity men, the reporters, at least one-fifth of that amount.

The Pied Piper of Humantown

A Fairy Tale for Workers' Children, Come True

"TOWARD
A
BETTER
WORLD"



Horatio
Ruotolo's
Idea of
Pioneer
Youth

IT happened like this:
Somewhere, in the World of Make Believe, there was a town called Humantown. Only children lived there. But things did not go well with the children or their city.

Disorder was everywhere. Nothing could be hit upon to make the citizens of Humantown behave. They stole and beat each other, and were rude whenever the occasion offered.

The Town Councillors were much put to it, to determine what to do. They tried all sorts of methods—but these all failed. Finally one of the Councillors, who was a bugler, said that he had the remedy. He blew his bugle, and made every one afraid. He commanded them roughly, and compelled them to march in line to the fields and the workshops. That succeeded for awhile. But it did not last long. Every time the bugler's head was turned, the workers stopped working and began to misbehave as before. Things became worse, in fact, than ever they had been.

Then arose another Councillor, to whom no one at first would pay any attention. "Let me make a try," said he. So, in desperation, they let him try—as he had been wishing to do all along.

This Councillor was a piper. He threw away the

bugle, and took up the pipe of peace. Playing that, he led the children to their tasks. But he let them do whatever they wanted to do. He did not seek to overlord them or frighten them, but to persuade them to ways of peace.

The Piper Wins

The Piper succeeded where all the rest had failed. When the child-workers knew that they could do as they pleased, they took to their tasks with joy. Those that wished to, hoed in the fields. Others, took up printing and writing. Still others, handicraft work. And all were happy.

This was the burden of the play given by the boys and girls at the Pioneer Youth Camp at Pawling, N. Y., on the day of the "Grand Bust-up," as they called it. That day was their last in the camp in the hills of Dutchess County. One hundred and forty-four young folks, of various ages, then returned to the city—to go about their usual round of duties in plain everyday life.

They had had nine glorious weeks of work and play and constructive thinking out there in the country. In their own exhibition, at the end of the romp, they had given the philosophy which underlies the effort that the Pioneer Youth of America are

making. They wish to oppose the Pied Piper of Hamelin, who in the old fairy tale led all his followers to destruction, with a Piper of the pipe of peace leading his comrades and brothers and sisters to construction.

The Pioneer Youth Movement is just in its beginning—launched by labor leaders and liberal educators through the National Association for Child Development. Last year this association was formed in the building of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, in New York City. Labor unions of all lines of industry were represented at this meeting, and many more hastened to endorse the idea.

It is little wonder that they should take this action. The children of our country have been subjected to a regular bath of anti-laborism during the past few years. The after-war found the Autocrats and Militarists entrenched firmly in our educational systems. Nothing more Prussian than our school system can be dreamed of. It is being developed to turn out a race of "good" clerks, to whom original effort and original thought are foreign.

Youth and Freedom

Co-operating splendidly with the school system to bring this result about, are many auxiliary organizations. Coming out of a Prussianized school, the youth rushes into the hands of these Prussianized youth movements. The child of the labor leader or labor man begins to look upon the ideals of his father as "dangerous" and "freakish" and clearly off-color. Just that much is lost in the battle for the next generation.

The National Association for Child Development and its offspring, the Pioneer Youth Movement, aim to let the children find their own way, lead their own lives, and thus march forward to the light. Here it is, all in a nutshell, in the statement of the Association itself on what it is seeking to do:

"It is the purpose of our Association to create an organization for children and youth that will help them develop a greater degree of self-dependence, acquaint them with the social and economic problems that face mankind and prepare them for the intelligent participation in the work of bettering society."

Thus, they will aid the children to find new heroes in place of the old forms, tawdry and tinselled, rising out of Militarism and Capitalism. In the incomparable words of our good friend, A. J. Muste:

"The type of hero usually held before the children is that of the successful money maker or the soldier. We desire that our children shall know the heroism

of the scientist, the engineer, the statesman, the artist, the rebel against evil, and most of all the heroism of the masses of toilers who build our houses, raise our food, weave our clothing, lay our railroads, sail our ships, those silent heroes on whose work all life is built."

Pioneer Youth Camp

So has this new Children's Crusade been begun? New York City was the place decided upon to start the experiment, because of the many facilities for success in that city. Pennsylvania Labor has caught the spirit of the thing, with its accustomed interest in all ideas of hope for the future. As the movement's facilities expand, its field of work will be broadened also—even to cover America.

The Pioneer Youth Camp was the first concrete undertaking of the Movement. "A written picture of the camp" is given in *PIONEER YOUTH*, published by the children themselves while at Pawling. From Margie, age 8 years, we learn of a "Junior Nature Study Club." "We went on walks and studied all kinds of flowers and trees and butterflies." Once, even, "we went on an overnight hike and we liked it very much." There was also "a circus," the writing of poetry, drawing, the printing of the magazine, farm work and pottery work—"all voluntary and happy activities."

The fall season is bringing new and more widespread work for the Movement. Children's clubs, according to age, have been formed in about a dozen community and labor centers in New York City. A leadership training course of 37 members has just been opened under the direction of such fine educators as Dr. Joseph K. Hart, Dr. Henry R. Linville, and Henry M. Busch. "This is particularly good news," as the enthusiastic secretary, Joshua Lieberman, reports, "since we had expected, like all other children's organizations, to find our leadership problem a very grave one."

These leaders, co-operating with the boys and girls themselves, are now working out a program and form of organization. According to age and interests, the children's groups will divide themselves into New Comers, Co-operators, and Trailmakers, with a Social Service Division of clubs averaging 16 years and over. The boys and girls in this division, having successfully undertaken group activities, such as issuing club journals, engaging in public debates, etc., will take up the study of actual social conditions, with a view to engaging in real labor and community service. They will visit mines, mills and factories—to acquaint themselves with the real Making of America.

FOR OUR CHILDREN !

A *AMERICAN* trade unions have shown their interest in the fine effort of Pioneer Youth. Rightly so. Pioneering is the glory of the New World. Our most venerated leaders have been Rebels against Evil. New thought and free is the only guarantee of continued freedom. Let our children acquire new and free ways of thinking, and the future is secure for Progress and Peace.

Pictures are shown here of the Camp at Pawling, which the Pioneer Youth conducted during the past summer. Similar camps might spring up in other sections of the country, as time goes on. In place of the trappings of Militarism and the Anti-Labor Spirit, the ideals of Peace and of Labor's hopes will be uppermost.

Among the unions endorsing the Pioneer Youth idea, and co-operating with it are:

American Federation of Teachers, International Association of Machinists, New York Building Trades Council, International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, International Fur Workers Union, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, District Council No. 9 of the Brotherhood of Painters, Paperhangers and Decorators, International Pocketbook Workers Union, International Neckwear Workers Union, and the Woman's Trade League.

While they are doing this, they have another big work in the child field cut out for them, politically. The Child Labor Amendment must not fail. The battle is now on over this question—of such moment to the Future Generation of America.



An Overnight Hike



Art Class At Camp

T *HIRTY-SEVEN* State legislatures will meet this winter. These will decide temporarily the fate of the child labor amendment.

Thirty-six states in all are necessary to make the amendment effective. One has acted favorably to date.

Massachusetts, under the whip of the Tories, voted against the amendment in a popular referendum on November 4th. Lies of the most vicious character were used to continue the enslavement of American children. The amendment would give Congress the power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of children up to 18 years of age. The age is made thus high, and the word "prohibit" used, in order that proper restrictions may be applied in certain hazardous industries. But the people of Massachusetts were told that the amendment itself would prohibit all work by children up to 18 years.

Massachusetts, once priding itself on its fights for Freedom, has now taken its place with Georgia, as a black spot of America. The home of the slave-ridden textile industry has expressed itself against freedom for our children. Correctly are the Yankee cowards represented in the Senate by that textile overlord, William Butler.

But let the rest of America turn its back on Massachusetts. Let's make our stand in the other states for continued Freedom.

Disarmament of the Toy Shops

By HELENE SCHEU-RIESZ

ONE point has been forgotten in the writing of the Peace Treaties and has still escaped public attention: the disarmament of the toy shops.

Yet, this is the one thing that may be more important for the avoidance of future wars than all the marking of national boundaries and all the signing of trade agreements. Here in the toy shop, where the instruments for the arming of the very youngest citizens are obtained, is the place where the advocates of peace should stand on guard. For the poison which is here instilled into the souls of little children, prepares the way, fatally, for lasting armaments.

There stand loaded cannons ready before mighty fortresses. Shimmering breast-plates of cardboard and wire hang beside gleaming firearms. Innumerable armies of tin and leaden soldiers fill the shelves, up to the ceiling. All the skill of technique and imagination have been summoned hither to direct the mind of the small boy to war as the most attractive game, as the most exciting pursuit.

Why do we not present our children with decorative graveyards, with gilded cemetery crosses—with tiny wooden coffins—with tin grave-diggers and leaden hearses? Surely, even in such toys as these children might be taught to find pleasure.

Toy Burglary Kits—Why Not?

Or, if we prefer games that make children skillful, why do we not have toy burglary-kits? In Sparta, where the great aim was to make the boys adroit and "fit for life," they had taught them actually robbery and stealing. Why do we not revive these methods of producing people fit for life? Undoubtedly, it is because we have learned to look upon the injury which they produce as greater than the advantage toward which they aim, and because we realize that we can acquire the advantage in other ways and in connection with nobler purposes.

Disarm the little children! Teach them to find their joy in work and play; present them with implements for handiwork—give them planes, saws, pen-knives. Why not in place of the soldier game put that of the factory worker, the coal carrier, the snow shoveler, the houseworker? Why not pretend to be judges, statesmen, engineers, lawyers, teachers, guardians, nurses, letter carriers instead of soldiers?

Banish War from the Nursery

An unlimited number of callings present themselves for the arousing and satisfying of the child's imagination. The problem which faces us is that of banishing from the nursery the old error—the old way of looking upon war as a more chivalrous thing than useful work faithfully performed. The age in which killing, from street fray to duel, was the only worthy handwork of a nobleman, is so far behind us that it is indeed time for us to let its spiritual grip disappear forever from the most conservative of all circles of life: the narrow circle of the family.

Dr. Montessori, in her methods for sharpening and developing all the senses, has pointed out new roads for the activity of little children. These methods should soon begin to make themselves felt on the counters and in the show windows of the toy shops.

A tremendous number of captivating and practical new game materials have been brought into use—little many-colored papers, cut and formed into innumerable shapes. By these, a child can learn to recognize, comprehend and classify the forms of nature; paraphernalia by which dolls, theater figures, machines, houses and bridges, may be produced; materials for drawing, painting, building, planting, modeling and sewing. A lifetime seems all too short for the completion of the wonderful things which the child can create happily and skillfully with these simplest and yet most ingenious means. And these games lead toward life—while the game with the weapons leads spiritually as well as bodily to death.

Creation—Not Death Dealing

The Swedish handwork classes, in imitation of which many of our modern schools are already giving their smallest children instruction in bookbinding and basketry, are leading the way to games which are in keeping with the spirit of the age. Only those who are able to reflect upon their own childhood, upon that constant longing to do something useful, to produce something that has a practical value, can know how to decide truly which kind of game will most deeply satisfy a child.

The primitive artistic impulse to create a something out of nothing, is lively in every child. The child will, as it were, create the whole world. The part of this world which it has not itself created, that part it will never truly possess.



Drawn for LABOR AGE by J. F. Anderson

IN THE WHITE HOUSE ROGUE'S GALLERY

“Keep the Krooks”

Battle Hymn of the Republicans, as Amended

THE DOINGS OF DUMB-DUMB

OUT of the smoke of battle, we see arise the little, shrivelled soul of the Great Calf Mind.

No one represents it better than our little hero, Dumb-Dumb—so happily located in the White House for four more years. Years of sweat and blood they will be for the American workers. At the end of that period, perhaps they will have the courage of the Children of Israel in the day of Moses. They may strike again—and hard—for Freedom. That is our guess—and it's a pretty sure one.

Of the adventures of Dumb-Dumb in the four years thus before him, these pages will be filled. They will rival the Divine Comedy in their tragedy. But we can stand it, if you can.

MONEY talks.”

“Money makes the mare go.”

“Money is the root of all evil.”

Sage sayings are these, coined out of the past. Only lately have we learned again what they are all about.

“Lately” refers to no other day than November 4th. The great intelligent and free American electorate went to the polls that day, and “surrendered to the ultimatum of Big Business,” as the READING LABOR ADVOCATE puts it. “Money and fear of a panic decided the election.”

With their pockets picked almost beyond repair, the workers were told by the Highwaymen that the picking would go on, until starvation came, if Dumb-Dumb and Bow-Wow were not continued in high places. Humbly, these “freemen” begged for a crust. Humbly, they followed the bidding of their Masters.

Some of them, that is. But some of them didn't— a mighty large army of them. About five million, by actual count, refused to bite the dust. Just think of that! Five million Americans refused to be scared. It's a miracle, for the Lord knows we're the most frightened nation on earth. Just say “Boo”, and these Americans will all do anything the “Booer” bids them.

Says Adam Coaldigger in the ILLINOIS MINER: “The powers that do the thinking for the enlightened

voting kings surely gave them an awful scare. Everybody was scared about something or other. Big Business was scared about the reds and little business ran after its big brother as if pursued by the devil himself. The Catholics and Lutherans were made to believe a change in the constitution would rob them of religious freedom and close their parochial schools. The Klansmen were afraid the election of La Follette would induce the Pope to foreclose the mortgage on the United States and turn the national capitol into a training school for sisters of charity. The Germans were afraid the defeat of Coolidge would kill the Dawes scheme, which is already as dead as a fried mackerel. The wheat farmers voted Republican because they were afraid a Democratic or Progressive administration would bring wheat down to where it was under the Harding administration. The Democrats were afraid their man Bryan might become president if the election was thrown in the House, so they cast their ballots for Coolidge and Dawes. Every one had a little scare of their own and all of them led to Cal, who, judging from his pictures, was scared worse than anybody. When all is said and done Coolidge ran like a scared rabbit because the sovereign voting kings voted like scared rabbits.”

To which he adds, with a sigh:

“I wish I knew what to do to take the scare out of my fellow inmates of this great democracy. Ever since Lord Northcliffe scared them into the notion that the Huns would freeze the Atlantic ocean and skate over the ice to Hoboken, they've been shivering like kittens locked in a refrigerator. I suppose the ragged horde of Washington at Valley Forge also shivered, but it was a different sort of a shiver.”

Yes, ours is not a Valley Forge but a shimmy shiver. For some of us, wiggling has taken the place of thinking—and anything that threatens to rob us of this and other “pleasures” makes us shake the more.

At that, 5,000,000 votes are “pretty good for a starter,” as the OKLAHOMA LEADER remarks. “The surprise is,” that paper says, “not that our candidates received only 5,000,000 votes, but that they received that many.” The Progressive movement itself, for one thing, got started too late, this paper thinks. It should have begun right after the Teapot Dome disclosures, establishing its roots through local contacts and local candidates. In that way, it

LABOR AGE

would have avoided the difficulties that confronted Iowa and Minnesota voters, in having Brookhart and Magnus Johnson on different tickets from La Follette and Wheeler. But it did very well, all in all, thinks the Farmer-Labor organ.

A real note of triumph is to be found in the CLEVELAND CITIZEN, in the fact that La Follette carried the city of Cleveland. "The election returns from the country at large are their own proof that Cleveland stands out pre-eminently as the most progressive large city in America." In the home of Tom Johnson and Peter Witt and the Railroad Brotherhoods, La Follette's vote was 89,617, Coolidge got 81,042 and Davis trailed a poor third with 16,808. Max Hayes, champion for years of independent political action, has reason for glee.

He goes on to say: "From every section of the city come enthusiastic demands that the Independent Progressive party, which has made such an auspicious beginning despite the lack of organization and financial support, become a permanent political movement."

Cleveland stands out "like a Rock of Gibraltar facing a stormy sea of Reaction, and sends the shafts of light and hope throughout the country." After all, education does count. Tom Johnson's long fights have done their bit. They have taught Ohio's metropolis to be unafraid.

From other parts of the country come cheering words. In Coolidge's own state, the LABOR NEWS of Worcester, declares that "the La Follette candidacy made it possible for the people to register the greatest popular protest against Reaction in the history of this country." Reaction's jubilation, the Massachusetts paper says, is mostly sham. The Powers That Be know "the significance of almost 6,000,000 voters, overcoming hostile court decisions, the obstacles of party machines, the confusion of ballots and the ever-present danger of a dishonest count in certain sections of the country."

The DAYTON LABOR REVIEW, organ of the central body there, takes a similar view of the results, pointing to the fact that the Progressives have made a beginning which has promise of great future victories.

The MILWAUKEE LEADER, organ of the Wisconsin Socialists, is even more definite in its predictions. The election outcome "can have no other meaning," it says, "than that the Third Party is here to stay and grow. It will give itself a national organization next January. It will never permit the Democratic Party to come back, unless it can be done at the expense of the Republicans. The class lines are permanently drawn in American politics."



Montreal Star's View of Stock Jump

For the Socialists themselves, a new task is cut out within the new movement. This is what it is, according to the Milwaukee daily:

"The mission of the Socialist party from now on is to assert its principles within the third party to whose organization the movement pledged itself in Cleveland.

"This will prove to be a very delicate and difficult task, unlike any previously attempted by Socialists in other countries, where the Labor and Socialist movement grew up together."

Another organ of the Socialist group, St. Louis LABOR, sees similar fruits coming out of November 4th, to be met in a similar way. It sees in "the La Follette-Wheeler vote a definite demand for a Third Party," and quotes the good words of Gompers, Johnston, and Hillman to that effect.

The TOLEDO UNION LEADER pays its respects to those who have attacked the followers of La Follette as "reds." It reports the local business press as frightened at the heavy vote polled in Lucas county—where the Progressives gained twice as many supporters as the Democratic ticket. That is the "why" of the "red" charge. "Let the fight for Progressive principles go on with redoubled energy!" is the cry of this official paper of Toledo's central labor body.

Of the "red" business, it writes sarcastically:

"Everyone who even dares to point out incom-



Labor

SOME THANKSGIVING

petency and breaches of trust in the servants of the people in Washington is a 'Red.' To refer to the Tea Pot Dome treason is 'anarchy.' To call attention to the grip with its \$100,000 given to a cabinet officer by a beneficiary of treason is Bolshevism. To recall the millions stolen from the Veterans' Bureau—money set aside to reclaim the boys made wrecks in the war—is lese majesty.

"And to dare to tell the people any truths about the most disgraceful, shameless and brazen administration in the history of these United States is to be a 'revolutionist.'"

Bravo! We agree. Every moral man in the U. S. A. is now a "red." Crookedness is the badge of national honor. In the 1928 campaign, for we learn that Dumb-Dumb is to run again, we suggest that the battle hymn of the Republicans be changed to "Keep the Krooks with Koolidge." That is what is going to happen. Crook No. 1—Mr. Andrew Mellon of Pittsburgh, King of the Bootleggers—will remain in charge of Prohibition Enforcement! Has Puritan hypocrisy come to this? (Voice from behind the scenes: "It has.")

Although "organized fright" won, as the independent St. Louis STAR put it, all labor papers agree with the verdicts already expressed, that this is only "the first skirmish."

LABOR, weekly of the rail unions and in the thickest of the scrap, has exactly the same thoughts about the matter. The chief enemy of the Progressives,

as it sizes things up, outside the money and the "hard times" bunk, was the Press of the country. True to form, this Press assisted to soft-pedal the money business and to play up the virtues of Dumb-Dumb to the skies. A more complete Progressive-labor press is the need, says LABOR—not only dailies and weeklies but magazines and pamphlets as well. "Aye, aye, sir," we add in unison—"we" being the Labor Press. "That's why we are here." Better and more of "us" is the answer. Without an effective and widespread press, Labor and Progressivism are at a huge disadvantage.

Norman Thomas has some words of wisdom on the whole affair, which numerous labor papers reprint



No More War

THE PERIL OF ARMAMENT

with approval. He points to the sad facts that the K. K. K. was powerful enough to aid Coolidge materially, and also to put several Governors into office in the Middle West. Further, that the Catholic hierarchy in Massachusetts lent themselves to an attack on the Child Labor Amendment in the name of the "divine authority of the family." These thoughts of his are worth while remembering at this hour:

"True religion and true loyalty teach that above all sects and races is humanity. All of us have the same need for peace, bread, freedom, and joy and beauty in life. The legitimate business of politics is to find a way to make government our servant in obtaining these ends. We enslave ourselves in the chains of our own racial and religious bigotry."

Aches and Ills of the British King Coal

By ELIZABETH H. VREELAND

Here is a matter-of-fact statement of the troubles of Britain's Coal Monster, as told by one who has lately returned from the scene of his activities.

Coal has been in toil and turmoil in Britain since the Great Collapse of "Black Friday," when something snapped and the workers as a unit failed to rise to the situation.

Britain's difficulties may throw some light on how to handle our own messed-up condition.

STAGNATION in Coal Mining"—"Startling Figures"—"More Pits to Close"—"Miners Feel the Pinch"—"Industry in Collapse"—"Mine Trouble Spreads."

These are a few of the headlines that meet the eye now in the London daily papers. The DAILY HERALD declares that "the coal industry is in a more parlous state than for forty years past." Seven thousand nine hundred of the Durham Miners' Association were out of work in July, regardless of those on short time and this figure is going up by leaps and bounds. In County Durham alone, more than thirty collieries have shut down entirely and others are working only two or three shifts a week. In Northumberland, 3,000 miners are workless. The Backworth group, for example, one of the largest of the Northumberland collieries, is at a complete standstill. In Glamorganshire, 3,500 men are idle, owing to the depression in the Welsh coal trade. In the Bristol coal fields 2,200 miners are out on strike and the Kent miners are also out, owing to the owner's refusal to operate the National Agreement. And Wales, Scotland and Northumberland have always been considered the finest export districts for coal in Great Britain, the Welsh collieries, especially, being famous in that line. To quote from the DAILY HERALD again: "The miners who are working are on the bottom rung of the wages ladder but they would be on the floor but for the protective clause which prevents a further fall in wages."

Under the National Agreement, operative until next year, wages have been regulated on what has been described as a system of collective profit-sharing. The first charge on the proceeds of the industry is that of standard wages. These are defined as the district basis rates existing in 1914, with the addition of the district percentage, subject to periodical adjustments, plus an addition of 33 1-3 per cent.

The second charge is standard profits, a sum equal to 15 per cent of the standard wages. After allowance is made for payment of the costs of production, other than wages and profits, the surplus, if any, is divided in the proportion of 88 per cent to wages and 12 per cent to profits. There are no increases in wages by way of surplus now in sight.

Shutting Down

The National Agreement allows the collieries to shut down on 14 days' notice. Declaring that at the present time, even the minimum wage demanded by the National Agreement, is out of the question, the owners are simply closing down their properties—one after another.

Mr. A. J. Cook of the M. F. G. B. told the writer that, even with the present 7-hour day, the miners' plight is worse than in 1914. That is a strong statement and was made with the utmost earnestness. While the condition of the sheltered industries—railway men, dockers, etc.—has been steadily improving, the non-sheltered industries are suffering increasingly. The latter insist that the principle of the cost of living should rule, with the year of 1914 as a standard, namely, that, to the minimum wage of 1914 should be added the present increased cost of living, ascertained by the Board of Trade figures which are issued every month and in which necessities and luxuries are differentiated. When the cost of living rises a certain number of points, a shilling raise in wages is given. Fifty per cent of the sheltered industries are already governed in this fashion by the principle of the cost of living. As the situation stands, however, when one of the sheltered industries group, for example, the railwaymen, get an increase in wages, that amount is merely added to the cost of the production of coal. Then coal is bought elsewhere, the owners shut down their collieries and the miners are out of work. The serious financial conditions abroad on the continent have aided the vicious circle.

Dawes Plan Feared

There have been coal mining strikes in Germany and an industrial crisis in Belgium this summer. Thirty thousand miners of the Mons basin went on strike, taking the position that there should be no reduction in wages before there was a reduction in the cost of living. The colliery owners are governed

by competition and, when the wages of the miners are forced down on the continent, a similar wage-reducing attempt must be made on England, or Great Britain will lose her place in the markets of the world as a great coal exporting country.

At least, so those in charge of the industry assert.

The attitude of the Executive of the British Miners' Federation towards the Dawes Report still further illustrates this point. They feel that the operation of the Dawes Report will be very harmful to the British mining industry. The miners argue that reparations coal can only be produced by increasing the hours worked in the German mines, by decreasing the wages of the German miners and by generally lowering the cost of production. George Spencer, M.P., Secretary of the Nott Miners' Association, declared that "any curtailment of the export trade of South Wales and Northumberland will intensify competition in the home market and bring down prices. Free coal by Germany to France, Belgium and Italy will rob England of her market."

There was, for a time, a period of artificial prosperity experienced by the coal export trade as a result of the French invasion of the Ruhr. Now, upon the eve of the operation of the Dawes Plan, the British miners are fearing disastrous results to an already declining industry. As the international situation stands at the present time, the miners have received an invitation from the Government to give evidence before the Committee on Trade and Industry which is being set up in connection with the London Agreement.

Let it not be thought for a moment that the owners themselves are satisfied with the condition of the coal mining industry. Colliery after colliery is closed down because the owners declare that the mines are run at a loss and that they are unable to pay the men even the minimum wage called for by the National Agreement. The miners feel that the lack of a proper return, now, on invested capital is, at least, partially due to the over-capitalization and stock-watering that took place during wartime. Concealment of profits and faulty organization are also charged by the miners against the present system.

The Fate of Nationalization

The Parliamentary situation today as regards the nationalization issue is an interesting one. A nationalization bill was introduced into the House of Commons by a private member of the House this last spring. Various members of the Government had come out in favor of nationalization, so that the Labor Government's attitude towards the question

was thought clear. The bill, however, was a private member's bill and, when the Government was interrogated, as to Government approval, the answer was that the Government "approved the principle embodied in the bill." Moreover, the nationalization bill was sponsored by the Minister of Labor. It remained, however, a private member's bill and was defeated. The aim, now, of the M. F. G. B. is to introduce again and again a nationalization bill until it is made a government bill. The issue has become political and the government must take notice.

The Industrial Workers' Charter

For the first time in the history of the British Trade Union Congress, an Industrial Workers' Charter was passed by the General Council at Hull this fall and number 1 under this Charter, embodying "necessary and fundamental changes in our social and economic systems" reads: "Public ownership and control of natural resources and of services—(a) Nationalization of lands, mines and minerals."

The miners are not as yet unanimous in regard to the details of a nationalization plan. However, an outline of their proposals, in the main, was given the writer in an interview with the secretary of the M. F. G. B. Within the nationalization scheme is included coal and its by-products. By the purchase by the nation of the coal mines, royalties are to be done away with and control is to be tripartite—technical, administrative and manual. There is to be a Cabinet Minister of Mines but local control by committees.

The Distributive Committee is to have representative members both of the industrial consumer and the house consumer, also a government representative and a central committee member. The Central Committee is to be made up of members from the Area Committee. There are to be no middlemen and no private companies in competition. Wages are to be determined by productivity, above a minimum, living wage which is to be the first charge upon the industry. For, the miners' case is, that, until a living wage has been paid to the men who produce the coal, none of the proceeds of the industry should be distributed in profits. It is very clear, at the headquarters of the M. F. G. B. that, by legislation or possibly even by general strike, the miners' intolerable situation must be remedied.

Both of these weapons, it is true, have failed in the past. Their failure is one of the sad chapters of the present serious crisis. But the miners are face to face with a condition, not a theory. They are set, desperately, on getting definite relief.

Australia, Half Slave and Half Free

DOESN'T this sound like our own beloved America:

"We have reached this intolerable position, that the rich are becoming continuously richer; that, swollen and besotted with riches, they angrily begrudge the workers to whom they owe their wealth the smallest uplift of their status, and use the whole administrative and legislative resources of the country to keep them where they are, at poverty point, or push them farther back if possible."

But it's not about America at all; it is the AUSTRALIAN WORKER's comment on the Land of the Southern Cross. The statement was occasioned by Prime Minister Bruce's address to the Nationalist Party, the Tories of Australia, still in control of the Dominion Government there.

Mr. Bruce had some nice things to say to the Australian workers—quite surprising in view of the anti-Labor attitude of his party. But this, the workers' paper says, is only due to the decline of Tory strength in the Dominion.

In the days before the war, Labor had control of the Australian Government. Today it is rising again to power. In the intervening years it has held on securely only in Queensland. Victory has crowned it of late in other states, though some signs of disruption have made its tenure insecure. It is now planning another assault on the Dominion Government itself. Hence, the Tories' worries, and Mr. Bruce's baying at the Labor moon.

In the union field, also, Australia has made great headway. It has solidified the labor forces perhaps as well as anywhere in the world. But the long way still to go is seen in the new troubles which have broken out in the wheat fields.

Farm laborers have been ill-treated all over the world. As has been said, "they are the lowest paid and worst conditioned section of the working class." Even Australia, a new country, which has had Labor Governments at its head, is no exception.

The present year will be a more than prosperous one for the Wheat Kings of the Island Continent. Production is higher than usual, and prices are likewise sky high. But the laborers are not allowed a part in this great reaping. They are merely treated as pariahs, fit to work but not to receive. Their wages, in general, are the same as in pre-war days. And when they recently appealed to the Arbitration Court of New South Wales, that body ruled them out, as having no standing as organized workers. How bitterly Labor must rue the divisions in its own ranks which lost the New South Wales government to its party group!

The Australian Workers Union insists that this condition of "helotry" be changed, or eruptions will be a real feature of wheat field life.

In pleasing contrast with this state of affairs is the report that the state factories and mines, even in New South Wales, are continuing in a healthy way. These enterprises owe their creation to the Labor Governments. In the state mentioned, the brick works, metal quarries, pipe works and dock yards are all making satisfactory progress. The brick works has paid out all of its outstanding capital from the profits made, and is now operating on its own funds. In Queensland the reports show that the meat factories of that state have saved the consumers thousands of dollars through fair prices.

Australia is now half-slave and half-free. It cannot remain in that sad state, any more than any other nation can. Labor must take control, both of its economic and political life.

Another Haiti

Speaking of Australia, reminds one of German New Guinea.

Not always would this be the case; but right now there is a bitter reason for saying so. The ill-fare or welfare of any body of workers is of concern to all the rest.

The Australian Government, since the war, has been given control of that island. Ten years have passed since this control was established. They have been ten years of brutality, equalled only by our own treatment of Haiti.

The charge made by W. Francis Ahern, in the SOCIALIST REVIEW, includes: "Shocking abuses of native women, ruthless burning and plundering of native villages, brutal floggings of natives of both sexes, slave driving, and relentless carnage of a general character." Mr. Ahern quotes doctors, a Catholic priest, a British captain and official police reports to back up his charges. He cites case after case of beatings, rape, and even "bloody crucifixion"—from these authorities.

One of the worst features is the "indenturing" of black workers as slaves. The Government is accused of openly co-operating in this traffic with private "masters." The flag of British "freedom" has meant hell for the bushmen in the wilds of New Guinea.

An inquiry has been demanded by the British Labor forces. It should be pressed. Haiti has been stain enough on the white man's name. He cannot bear the further burden of New Guinea—without washing out the bloodstains of the blacks. Decency demands that.

The Ethical Movement and Labor

By PRINCE HOPKINS

TO Labor, the Ethical Movement should make a particular appeal. It allows a wide breadth of freedom, and while it has not always lent itself to Progress in individual instances, its tendencies have been strongly in that direction.

Of all the new efforts at readjusting religion to present-day life, Ethicalism has stood its ground for Progress much more supremely than the rest.

However, there is little hope that we will ever have here a fountain of great emotional force capable of giving vitality and new spirit to Labor.

Psychologically, I doubt whether its structure will let it be a great power, much as I might like to see it so. In the first place, the very fact that Adler has always held himself in the back-ground, and insisted that the Ethical Movement should not build around one personality, makes it appeal to the intellect, but not to the emotions. All the world's great religions essentially analyse into expressions of love or hate for a father. All the finer ones have centered upon the idealized personality of a hero, real or fictitious, who is the rescuer of our mother Humanity.

Thus, followers of Confucianism made little progress until Meucius, a Chinese, with literary skill idealized Confucius himself as a sort of superman, with the lovable aspects of a father and also much of a hero.

Then again, the ethical meeting houses have made themselves as similar as possible to the old churches. But people who like the aesthetic atmosphere of the churches will for the most part stifle their ideas sufficiently to stay in the churches. Whereas those who have broken away from theology mostly hate the sight of any trappings which remind them of church.

Broadmindedness and Narrowmindedness

Again, the very broadmindedness of Ethicalism, in its refusal to lay down any definite creed or commandments, makes it, to many, seem vague and unsatisfactory. People take more notice if you say you are an atheist than if you call yourself an agnostic. A positive assertion always carries more "punch" than a mere non-commitment can.

This is why, already, the new religion called Proletcult has adherents by the million. Thousands of statues, and hundreds of portraits of Father Karl

Marx are enshrined all over the world. The call has enormous emotional drive. This is evidenced by the violence by which people either favor or oppose it, by the part it is playing in world affairs, and by its effect on art. For instance, in the *LIBERATOR*, or the *WORKER'S DREADNOUGHT* of London, you'll find articles of a lyrical quality which seldom appear outside Communist journals.

But, of course, Proletcult will appeal to us or not, in the degree that we are intrigued by the entire philosophy of communism. Its vices are the readiness to resort to force, and a narrow doctrinaire quality.

"Les Abeilles du Bien"

If I had more space, I should like to tell you more about a cult, "Les Abeilles du Bien," which I lately dug up in France. They have quite the best body of doctrines, to my thinking, of any, and their writings show some emotional power. But they are insufficient in numbers. I might also call your attention to the very complete and commendable philosophy contained in Upton Sinclair's *BOOK OF LIFE*—a book which might well serve as a new bible. For that what is necessary is that the Ku Klux or the government should martyrize Upton, and then for a wonderful biographer to come along and make us all fall in love with his memory.

No world-religion at once beneficent and potent, is going to spring from any of the cults herein mentioned. Indeed, a truly world-wide religion of any vital power is probably impossible. To be vital, it must stir elemental emotions, which is to say it must vividly portray, if not a person, at least an ideal, capable of arousing passionate love from millions of people. But no more can all races of both hemispheres love the same ideal than we could all go crazy over the same woman. Let Labor, then, make friends, but not yet lose his head completely.

Yet I am, as you see, friendly to this last class of cult as a whole. By cooperation with them, Labor may develop allies. They can serve the workers in the maintenance of that morale which is needed to prevent men stopping their dues, and dropping out of organizations as soon as any particular fight for better conditions has been won. If I were to pick one of these cults as being a better match than the others, I should probably wed Labor to the Ethical movement.

That Nine-Lived Question

"Workers Education—Why?"

YOU will find it of interest. "It" is the bibliography on Workers' Education, prepared by Laura A. Thompson, Librarian of the U. S. Department of Labor. It appears in the *Monthly Labor Review* of September, 1924.

Books, pamphlets and magazines are drawn from, in this list of "What to Read" on this absorbing subject. It gives a good birdseye view of what has recently been written, and an insight into the articles appearing of late on the various points of view in the Workers' Education Movement. Not only is America referred to, but also the work in other countries gets its share. We recommend you to look this up, and then read the articles which most appeal to you in the list. It will be a little education in itself.

ADMIRATION is the only word that will describe our feelings toward the Plebs League and the National Labor Colleges of Great Britain.

They are on their toes. Little is it to be wondered at, that the older W. E. A. looks upon them much as the happy folk in the village must have looked upon the little old Thring, in a recent story of Make Believe, who came down from the mountain to disturb them.

Mark Starr, in our October issue, says a "few things." He wants to get down to the trenches in the labor struggle. Whittling away time on natural science and the arts is, for the workers, "fiddling while Rome burns" to a vengeance. He also puts forward another deep and wise saying: that the Universities are *not* the fountains of learning. "Hear, hear," answer we all, British-wise, to that comment.

The Universities are the last places for us to repose our Workers' Education Movement. Most of them are manned by cowards, who dare not offend the Board of Directors. Witness the good Dr. Olds taking upon himself the mantle of the deposed Meikeljohn at Amherst the other day. "Deposed" means "kicked out," let us remind ourselves. Kicked out was Meikeljohn, because he offended Dwight Morrow—of the firm of Morgan and Chief Mentor of Calvin the Dumb.

We are indebted to Mark Starr for keeping us away from the Universities, and for keeping us near

to Brookwood and similar developments.

"Why Workers' Education?" is a question with as many lives as the proverbial cat. It all seems to work around to the one answer given by Brother Muste last April—and he avoids some of the pitfalls which even the Plebs League, with all its nimbleness, is likely to fall into. Muste simply says: "Culture" is not the workers' chief need. The most truly cultured man is the man who knows his position in the social group and knows how to fill it. The workers' education movement should take its stand not outside the trade union movement, but in it. It should stand where the movement stands, and move forward with it.

Fannia Cohn, pioneer in workers' education for the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, says much the same thing—and more—in the current issue of the *INTERNATIONAL MOLDERS' JOURNAL*. Her interest, in that particular article, is in the woman worker. She is much concerned at the fact that there are over 3,500,000 women in gainful pursuits, and only 200,000 in trade unions. Widespread workers' education will aid in bringing them into the fold.

In the first place, it will affect this change in the attitude of the male workers:

"When the working man begins to study woman's place in the labor movement and in industry, he will learn facts about the character and psychology of women which he will have to admit he did not know before. He will also learn that though woman is temporarily in industry, women as a group are permanent. He will learn that it has become an established fact that each time a woman leaves industry three come to take her place. Then he will realize that woman has come without experience as participator in the life of social institutions, but that if women of the present generation are encouraged to accumulate experience they will transmit it to women of the next generation."

Then, it will have both an indirect and a direct effect upon the women workers themselves. "Women with their practical minds will soon learn that while the driving force of the labor movement is idealistic, the approach will have to be realistic." Those both within and without the movement will understand that the conflict existing between men and women workers "is in the last analysis an economic problem. It narrows down to a wage problem. Working women will learn that the cry of equal pay for equal work is meaningless unless women, too, have the power of trade union organization to back it up."

Education will spur on men and women in the trade union ranks, in brief, to hasten the organization of their sisters, at present outside.

So that the united chorus seems to be: "Workers' education must be pragmatic. It must be on the firing line of the present labor union fight."

Labor History in the Making

In the U. S. A.

LOUIS F. BUDENZ, in Co-operation with the Board of Editors

ENCORE FOR EQUITY!

IN these days of stress and strain a number of shining bright lights appear in the sky.

"Equity" is the name of one of these—the Actors' Equity Association. While Open Shop and Anti-Unionism have been "doing their durndest" against the Labor forces, the actors have moved forward to strengthen their position.

On October 20th a ten-minute meeting was held of the "Producing Managers' Association." Upon resolution by John Golden, the members present voted to dissolve, disappear and go out of existence—as an association. That little act, practically unheralded in the newspapers, told to the stage world that Equity's enemy had given up the ghost.

For five years the Producing Managers' Association had locked horns with the Actors' union. They had fought the organization of the players from before its birth. They had brought on the great strike of 1919, which was crowned by Equity victory.

This last summer the "P. M. A." again appeared in a belligerent role. A new contract was up for consideration. It spelled "the Equity Shop" everywhere. The P. M. A., seeing the fight coming, engaged Augustus Thomas as "Chairman of the Executive Committee." Mr. Thomas, the newspapers announced, was to be the Czar of the Stage, as Will Hays was of the Movies and Landis of Baseball.

But "Czars" were destined to appear on the Stage merely as characters for actors. Mr. Thomas was expected to find some antidote to the "Equity Shop." He failed. The actors were determined—and the managers split on the question. A number of them did not think it wise to buck Equity, and seceded from the P. M. A., forming a new organization of their own. This was called the Managers' Protective Association, and signed up an agreeable ten-year contract with the union.

The P. M. A. would not capitulate, even then. They were set upon being the villains. They rushed into court with an injunction—and were treated as villains should be treated. The court ruled against them—and in favor of Equity and the new managers' association. Meanwhile, they began a serious scrap among themselves, making the muddle even more confusing.

The upshot of it all was, that Equiquity was entrenched stronger than ever before, the P. M. A. was given its death blow, and has now duly expired. As EQUITY, organ of the actors' union, says: The

P. M. A. "star has set, probably never to rise again." "There will be few to mourn its passage," adds the paper, "and those few will regret not so much its going as the fact that so much potential good was allowed to waste away unregarded."

While this little act was going on, another was being played for Equity's benefit in another way. In order to get admittance to the stage, under the new contract, "Fidelity" players were compelled to "stand and unfold" themselves. "Fidelity" was the name of the managers' "union," organized to oppose

WHAT WOULD ADA THINK?



Equity Paid Tribute to
Ada Rehan Recently—It is
a Great Cry from Her Day to this Day of Unionism

Equity. At the height of its glory, it had no more than 600 members. But today, it stands revealed, from its own books, as having just 83 members in good standing. These things came to light through Equity's insistence that it see the "Fidelity" books, before allowing any so-called "Fidelity" actors to appear in casts.

The actors have shown that they can fight a good fight as well as act. The American stage will be benefited immensely. Equity stands not only for good conditions in a material way. It aims also to improve the standards of the American theatre.

FREEDING THE SOUL OF THE ARTIST

JOY in work! We have not heard much of that for lo! these many years.

And pray, why should we? The Machine has laid low the pride of the craftsman. The Profit Making System has robbed the worker of the knowledge that his tools are his. Why take pleasure in sweating, in order that others may own and reap?

That thought goes much farther than the machine shop. It is interlinked with the fine victory of the Actors. Art on the stage has been throttled by Commercialism. The union has come—as we were saying when interrupted—to call a halt to commercial control, and put Art back in the saddle.

The struggle of the artist and the aspirations of the unions go hand in hand. Thomas H. Dickinson takes the Equity as the basis for his text in proving this in the current issue of the *AMERICAN REVIEW*. "Superficial prejudice" and "canned opinion" have set it down as correct that artists and workers should not commingle under the banner of unionism. But the "contest for the unionization of the actors" has given this view a rather decided jolt. It was a jolt that Babbittism and Robotism both had coming to them.

"The idea that art is more sacred than labor," Mr. Dickinson writes, "and of different stuff, has injured labor indeed but not half as seriously as it has injured art. A work of art is a work of labor done the best way possible. An artist is a laborer who does his best. Any critic or school master who tells you differently lies in his throat."

Labor, to be art, must above all be free. The woodsman, swinging his axe, is an artist. So, also is the shoemaker working at his last. Provided, they seek to make their technique more sure, and find a joyful rivalry in upholding and advancing their craft. And at the basis of these things lies the provision that they be freemen, working freely at their trade.

Now, the union, "whether consciously or not," is founded on the fact "that under modern conditions it is difficult if not impossible to practice labor as art. Implicit in the idea of the union itself is the

freeing of the laborer to such conditions that he may control the circumstances of his labor and so may do his best." The craft guild and the labor union have identical ends, when looked at closely: "Both seek to free and enfranchise labor, the guild through nourishing its joy, the union through breaking its chains." What step more logical, than that artists and workers should strive shoulder to shoulder for their common goal of Freedom? Where is their common enemy if not in the "great exploiting organizations" to be found in the theatre as well as in the industrial world?

These organizations have now "covered practically all the physical instrumentalities of play production," Mr. Dickinson tells us. They are "now moving on to a control of the soul of the artist." In cruder words, they mean to compel him to write and play things that are commercially profitable but are in an intellectual and emotional sense—mere trash.

Over the labor movement itself, the writer finds, "there has come in recent years a significant change. This is largely the result of the new responsibilities that the larger scope of unionism has pressed into the hands of labor." He means by this the new tendency toward industrial control and industrial responsibility.

In this renewed Labor Movement, the artist has a real role to play. He is called to join his brother workers of the saw and spindle—not merely for their good, but for his own freedom. That which the actors learned, other artists will profit by.

"TIP TOP" PROSPERITY

ADVERTISING pays. If you don't believe it, look at the political campaign just closed. Punchy, pithy, peppy phrases rolled from Republican pens, at so much per—and sent Mr. Coolidge back into the White House.

"Prosperity" led all the rest. It was the favorite word. Mellowed by use, it still has all the force of years gone by. That's what we all want apparently.

But sure enough—there is a catch somewhere. "Prosperity" is merely another word for Big Dividends. It does not include the workers' welfare. They are not supposed to be in the picture at all.

Mr. Coolidge's election immediately encouraged the big Baking Interests to plan a further gigantic merger. Already they had consolidated into a few huge corporations, as we learned in the *JUNE LABOR AGE*. Now, they are continuing the process. They will all be One—a One Big Union of the employers in that industry.

We know that they have tasted the sweets of "Prosperity." "Bob" La Follette told that story this last year. Their dividends have been way beyond any decent margin, larger than ever before in their history.

Of course, the workers shared in this fine division

of the spoils? They got in on this remarkable "Prosperity"? The answer brutally is, No. At the same time that these big dividends were being declared, war was being waged by the Ward Baking Company on the bakery workers. Their union was attacked. They were locked out. Their hours and conditions of work were made heavier. And the Ward Baking Company is a prominent unit of the Baking Trust.

We learn from a copy of an address by Brother Herker before the Ohio State Federation of Labor that this struggle is still going on. Only 300 of the 2,600 workers locked out have gone back to work in the Ward bakeries. They are fighting against virtual slavery. Their wages, we learn, have been "systematically reduced," while the concern itself is making "a net profit of \$4,000,000,000 annually." The consumers, meanwhile, continue to be mulcted by "paying war prices for their bread and other bakery products."

The favorite brands of the Ward Company are "Tip Top," "Mother Hubbard," "Rommy Rye," and "Dainty Maid." Their cakes are "Paradise" and "Silver Queen." The United Bakeries Corporation, of which the Ward Company is now a part, has issued a new brand of bread called "Certified" and a cake called "Hostess."

These brands are Poison. He who eats them helps to kill and cripple the opportunities and the lives of the children of the bakery workers. One Ward was recently, and shadily, shielded from punishment for Murder. But the Ward family en masse are engaging in Murder in the open daylight.

That is the fruit of "Tip Top" Prosperity.

AGAINST THAT RAINY DAY

A POPULAR song among the needle trade unions ought to be: "It ain't goin' to rain no more."

Let us explain: the reference is not made to that highly popular and mildly unconventional play, which has run for so long on Broadway. The "rain" we have in mind is the troubled day of unemployment.

Not that the needle trade unions have found the cure-all for this affliction—though they have almost decided that it lies inevitably in our present Crazy Quilt Economic System. But they have at least discovered an umbrella that will make the downpour less harmful when it comes down.

Under the recent peace pact, coming out of the victory of the International Ladies' Garment Workers in New York, an unemployment insurance plan is now in effect in that industry in the Greater City.

On August 18, this Unemployment Insurance Fund in the ladies' garment industry went into effect. The workers pay 1 per cent of their wages and the employers 2 per cent of their payrolls into the fund.

PAGES FROM A LABOR CATECHISM

Question: Which of our basic industries has been the hardest hit by the "prosperous" depression?

Answer: The textile industry.

Q.: Why do you say that?

A.: Because, as the Labor Bureau reports, "it has been a laggard on the rise; a leader on the toboggan."

Q.: But isn't this one of the chief industries "protected" by the High Tariff of the Reactionaries?

A.: (With pitying contempt) It is.

Q.: Well, what's wrong?

A.: Much. The industry wants to run all over the map. It is over-expanding. To get cheap labor, it has moved to the South, in part. In a word, there is too much of it.

Q.: What can the unions do?

A.: For one thing, they can get together. The unity conferences of last year should continue. Then, with a united organization, they can take the lead in working out a program for the industry, as the needle trade unions have done.

Q.: But is that possible?

A.: EVERYTHING is possible. Where there is a will, there is a way. Suppose we try.

This is an improvement over the A. C. W. arrangement in Chicago. By October 17, JUSTICE, organ of the union, was able to report \$250,000 collected for the Fund—in about six weeks' time. The method of distribution is soon to be decided upon by the trustees, after a meeting of the officials of all the cloakmakers' unions in the Big City.

The United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, however, have put across a plan that goes farther than that of any of their larger brother unions of the needle trades. Under the plans of all the other organizations, the workers and employers contribute each in part to the unemployment fund. A joint representation of employers and workers, under an impartial chairman, also manages the fund, making the disbursements and keeping track of the records. The Cap Makers have put through agreements in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and St. Paul of a different character.

In their industry in all these cities, the employers pay to the fund 3 per cent of the payroll. The workers pay nothing. And, on the other hand, the employers have no voice in the management of the fund. It is entirely in the hands of the union. Brother Budish of the Cap Makers outlined this idea in LABOR AGE of December, 1923. "Union Controls—Employers Pay" was the way he designated that idea. It expresses it exactly.

IN EUROPE

THE DRIFT

REACTION may chuckle at the recent outcome in Great Britain, and may look forward to something similar in France. But the drift is undoubtedly all the other way.

The Scandinavian countries have turned to Labor Governments, under the Socialist banner. Quietly these lands are working out their problems, starting with the determination to abolish militarism or to curb it. The return of Branting to the helm in Sweden is eloquent of the thought of the Scandinavian peoples.

The Tory victory in England itself was in reality a defeat. It forecasts a sharper line-up in British political life in the days to come. Labor has achieved its dream of years. It has wiped out the Liberal Party. The remaining Liberals will find shelter finally either in the Tory camp or under the banner of Labor.

With the cry of "Red Plot" and "Communism" ringing in their ears, over a million more of the British electorate registered for Labor. That was as fine a gain as could be expected. Seats were lost, it is true; but that was largely the result of the coalition of the two old parties in many places.

The next contest will give a different result. It may be some time in coming, as the Tories have a pretty secure majority in Parliament. But when it does come, Labor will no longer have a fake Liberal group to contend with seriously.

The opinion of impartial political students indicates that outcome. They look to a continuance of the drift toward Labor which has put Socialist Governments in power in the three Northern nations and in France.

"AU REVOIR" BUT NOT "GOOD BYE"

NINE months and thirteen days was the length of tenure of office of the first British Labor Cabinet.

Time enough for a child to be born! Time enough, say the Laborites, for the foundations to be laid for future governments.

At 5:30 o'clock, on the same day that we were surging to the polls to elect Mr. Coolidge, Ramsay MacDonald went to Buckingham Palace to tender his resignation to the King. Less than two hours later, Mr. Baldwin went to the same Palace—and became Prime Minister.

"Are we downhearted?" was the cry which greeted MacDonald, as he left No. 10 Downing Street. "Never a bit of it," was his laughing reply. To which the DAILY HERALD adds: "It is 'Au Revoir, but not Good Bye.'"

"Stabilization" is the cry invented by the Tories

to express what Mr. Baldwin and his allies will do. It sounds very much, and means very much, the same as Harding's "Normalcy" and Coolidge's "Common Sense." Nothing is known in detail of what "Stabilization" will consist. The only plank on which Toryism stood in the past—Protection—was thrown overboard. As in our own campaign, the British Tories did not talk about programs. They merely attacked Labor. Ruin was pictured as the handmaiden of Labor victory. It was much the same game as was played in our own land.

The faked Russian note, bringing up visions of violent revolution, was part of the campaign. The Press was the most active force against Labor in carrying out this offensive.

The lesson of the whole business is, according to George Lansbury, simply this:

"The mass-power of the Press is one which Labour must meet, and meet at once. Last week I said we should beat these attacks by our speeches from the platform. In the long run I still think this will be done. This election, though, has demonstrated that during the short space of time covering an election, the newspapers with millions of circulation, if united, as those of both parties were this time, are able to defeat those they attack in the mass by use of language which, if applied to single individuals, would not be legally tolerated for a single hour.

"Therefore, we who desire the triumph of Labour must, without further delay, set about the task of developing a Press service with which we shall be able to stand up to the lying campaigns of our opponents. We do not wish for a Press which shall meet lie with lie, but one which, by the overpowering presentation of truth, will make people understand what Labour's aims really are."

Again can we say in chorus: "The lesson here is along the same lines. We need a Labor Press." That was the refrain of LABOR in its analysis of the election. If we need it, why not get it? The task is not so difficult as it looks.

RUSSIA GETS RECOGNIZED

FOR some time the Red Russian Bear has been nodding at the other nations of Europe, hoping for a sign of "recognition."

Finally, the sign has come. First, there was the Anglo-Russian Treaty; then, the speedier action of Herriot, which has put a Russian Ambassador in the Czartist Palace at Paris.

As was said in our last issue: "It is only a question of a hop, skip and jump on History's pages, until Mr. Hughes' whiskers and those of Karl Marx are seen interlocked in a loving embrace."

Russia needs these acts of comity. So do the nations with which she is dealing. If the case were otherwise, these treaties and ambassadors would be unheard of. War, revolution, counter-revolution, economic mistakes—have all lead their heavy hand on the Soviet Republic. Trade with the big empire to the East is important for the nations of Western Europe. MacDonald's treaty had many good back-

ers among the English capitalists; and it is safe to say that Baldwin will not disturb it. Even though, as the *SOCIALIST REVIEW* says: "The bitter opposition displayed by the Tories and the Lloyd Georgians towards the signing of the Treaty with Russia is the best evidence of its value to the working class of this country (England)." That opposition was undoubtedly for party purposes.

The Anglo-Russian Treaty is in reality two treaties. One of them is a General Treaty and the other a Commercial Treaty. They were signed on August 8th, in a dramatic way after negotiations had been broken off. MacDonald signed them, of course, with Parliament not in session; so that they will have to be presented at the new Parliament, heavily Tory.

The Soviet Union, in the general treaty, recognizes the debts of the Czarist Government. It further recognizes that the amounts owed to the British bondholders, under these debts, will be greater than the counter-claims of Russia against Britain. Consequently, it agrees to pay whatever the difference may be in a lump sum to the British Government, which shall distribute it in such manner as it considers just.

The exact amount of the payment is left to private bargaining between the bondholders and the Soviet Government. If at the end of 12 months, they have not come to an agreement, the two Governments are then pledged to obtain a settlement. When all this is attended to, the British Government pledges itself to recommend to Parliament that a loan be made to the Soviet Union. A second treaty is provided for, which will bring everything down to date, and clear up once and for all every debt and difference between the two countries.

The Commercial treaty lays the basis for permanent trading between the two countries. It gives Great Britain the rights of a "most favored nation." It acknowledges the Russian government monopoly and recognizes the Russian trade representatives as part of the Russian diplomatic service. This last agreement, though bitterly attacked by the Tory press, will probably not be touched by the Tory Government.

The most disturbing thing, so far as the security of the treaty is concerned, is the evident effort of certain big capitalist interests to wreck its provisions by blocking the guaranteeing of the loan.

But MacDonald's act has held to another path toward peace in Europe. Russia has backed down from her position on debts. In fact, she has gone much further than France has gone in regard to the war debts. And France, hastening to duplicate England, has gone one better and installed a Russian Ambassador in the French capital.

No matter what Governments may temporarily come and go in either country, these acts are bound

to "go on forever." Self-interest demands this, and self-interest will be served.

TWO CONFERENCES

WHILE we were busy over here in our long Presidential campaign, British Labor was having two big conferences—of its two important "arms."

The Trade Union Congress met at Hull in September, and made a move toward further consolidation of the union forces. The General Council was given power to call unions into consultation when there is a tie-up affecting other bodies of organized workers, to give advice to these unions, and to report such unions to the Congress for disciplining if they refuse to follow or consider the advice. There is no doubt that this is intended as a first step toward even closer unity of the different union groups. It is a "feeler," which will cause another step if it works out well.

Amalgamation was also popular among the British unionists. "More unionists and less unions" was the cry. The idea of amalgamation has taken definite root among our British brothers, who are trying to carry it out in a practical and patient way.

In the Labor Party Conference the following month, there was an evident effort all around to prevent quarrels. By that time it was apparent that an election was on hand, and unity was successful. Some criticism there was of the Dawes report and the Government's part in supporting it, some differences over unemployment and a few other points. But in the main all was hunkey-dory.

The appeal of the Communists to be admitted as such to the party was rejected. This leaves the Communist candidates without Labor Party backing, and keeps the Party free of official Communist affiliation. Another resolution was adopted, calling for the expulsion of all individual Communists from the Party. There is much doubt expressed in Communist circles as to how thoroughly this will be carried out. J. R. Campbell, in the *BRITISH COMMUNIST REVIEW*, thinks not much will actually be done about it.

The cue to what the Conference would do on that point was taken from MacDonald's introductory speech, in which he laid it down as important that the Party clear itself of any appearance of union with the British Communist group.

BRITISH HOUSING ACT

One of the chief accomplishments of the Labor Party was its Housing Act. To this it could "point with pride," although the Act was not all that Labor wanted it to be.

The full story of this Act, and just what it has done in a constructive way, will be told in the next issue of LABOR AGE.

THOUGHTS ON MOVEMENTS ABROAD

(Picked Up by Prince Hopkins)

UTILITARIANISM

IN the midst of the elections, a woman friend said to me: "Of course the leisured and educated class should run the government. How do you expect common working people to understand the complexities of foreign affairs?"

I pointed out to her that, however one might explain it, the foremost thinkers on public affairs are today on the side of Labor, not of the reactionaries; that in any case, government was a question of home policy even before foreign policy, and it was especially here that labor felt the pinching of the shoe before the comfortable classes did; that the "education" which was given to the present generation taught them to read Latin more critically than it taught them to read the newspapers and that you find only a small minority of the leisure-classes able to give any reasoned basis for their opinions, just as you find among working people.

As my clinching argument, I said that every class has always been found to look after its own interests first. As many times as many people belong to the wroking class as to the capitalist class, the interests of the greater number would best be safeguarded by a government of the workers.

My friend only replied: "But the upper class are such nice people. Why should mere numbers be counted, and politeness and culture not be?"

I saw then, that I had nothing to work upon. The very beginning of a sociological argument must be, the establishment of a mutual starting point—of a common test of right and wrong.

Recognition that "right" and "wrong" mean simply, that a thing promotes or retards the lasting happiness of the greatest number—this recognition is the beginning of sound labor philosophy.

PSYCHO-ANALYSIS

I've just been talking with Dr. —, a psycho-analyst, who is pro-labor—as, indeed, most of them are. I argued that a man was free to devote time and money to whatever movement seemed most important for the world's progress, wouldn't give it to psycho-analysis, but to something like the Labor Movement. The spread of the Freudian method of helping people to understand themselves better, and so to be less neurotic and more sane was good. Well trained psycho-analysts might become as numerous as mediocre doctors are now. But, in the meantime, what benefit could come to the masses, who couldn't afford the huge expense of the year or so daily treatment, which it costs to be analyzed? Let thoughtful men at present rather help the masses toward economic power!

I give below the reply which I received to this argument. You can take it for what you think it's worth:

"Admitting," said Dr. —, "that working men will hardly be able to afford to be psycho-analyzed, and that even the indirect effects of the new insight into human nature will be slow in reaching them, I think there's nothing can help the labor cause more than the spread of the psycho-analytic movement.

"I don't look for this help to come greatly through the workers understanding better the unconscious motives at play in human institutions. For, so long as they themselves haven't been analyzed and rid of their unconscious complexes, they'll no more apply psycho-analytic principles without being biased by likes and dislikes, than any other knowledge.

"But most of all, I hope for good to come from the analysis of persons in important posts. The distressing need for this could hardly be better shown than in the present crisis in the British Government.

"On the side of the conservatives and liberals, their leaders, had they been in no degree neurotic, would have seen that neither in any obligations actually undertaken in connection with the Russian agreement, nor (still less) in this Campbell prosecution case, is there any really unadjustable difficulty involved. With a little reasonableness they could quite easily have got on with the existing government for some years to come, and not risked the expense of another election.

"If Macdonald, on his part, had been psycho-analyzed, he'd never have reacted as he did to the situation. He'd simply have said: 'Go ahead and appoint your commission to inquire into the Campbell case, if you wish to. We've nothing to fear!'

"Here was Labor, for the first time, in power over the British world-empire. The prestige of the success of the experiment would, for years, influence the fortunes of Labor all over the world. Instead of guarding its opportunity until it could come before the country on some stirring clash of great principles, it's defeated because the premier reacts neurotically to an affront to his personal vanity."

Since this conversation, events of election-time lend some support to Dr. —'s contention. I refer especially to Macdonald's behavior in connection with the Zinoviev letter. As the *Manchester Guardian* says:

"He was sufficiently impressed by it to instruct the Foreign Office to inquire 'with the greatest care' into its authenticity, and to draw up a draft note to the Russians, but not sufficiently impressed in any way to modify his assertions of Russian good faith in support of the treaty. He was actually at work upon the revision of the draft. . . . But he did not intend this version to be used until it had been again submitted to and passed by himself. Nevertheless it was both sent to the Russians and published in the press. Mr. Macdonald claims credit for the 'businesslike' way in which this affair has been conducted by his department. But this claim is not substantiated by his comments, (*re*) 'the possibility of the Foreign Office having committed an egregious blunder in accepting a forged document as authentic. . . .'

"Mr. Macdonald, although evidently inclining to the opinion that it is a hoax, says that he does not know. The British note (to the Russian *Charge d'Affaires*, accusing Russia of breaking faith) 'ought never to have been sent until he had definitely made up his mind and was ready to accept responsibility for the decision. . . . As it is, he tries . . . claiming credit for the rapidity with which he put his foot down on Communist propaganda and at the same time, on the assumption that there has been no propaganda, accusing his enemies . . . of having fabricated a plot."

All of which is an excellent illustration of the neurotic mechanism called *ambivalence*, or wanting it both ways, confusing the world of reality with the world of one's own dreams and wishes. The growth of psycho-analysis, if it would result in the holders of conspicuous posts becoming more sane, often would save progressive movements from being discredited.

ABSTINENCE MOVEMENTS

ALTHOUGH English sentiment isn't favorable to compulsory Prohibition, it's evidence of the sincerity of her Labor movement, that some of its leaders, according to Labor's paper, the *Daily Herald*, have begun to appreciate the antagonistic influences of alcohol and tobacco.

Thus, Harry Gosling, M.P., declared: "We can't afford to drink in our movement. We must keep sober and steady."

Mr. Ben Turner, M.P., said that during his 30 years' experience of the Trades Union Congress he had observed a remarkable change in the character and habits of those who attended them. . . .

Mr. Tom Groves, M.P., remarked that . . . "If they, in their lives, did not do that which was upright, straight and moral, they were not carrying out the high duties expected of them."

Margaret Bondfield, that splendid representative of the women workers, and herself, until this last disastrous election, an M.P., hit out similarly at tobacco. She complained: "Young men will attach more importance to buying their daily cigarettes or going to the pictures than to buying Labor's daily paper."

Apropos of this, it's interesting to note that Prof. H. M. V. O'Shea of the University of Wisconsin, who has made an especial study of the tobacco problem, found that not many tobacco users are to be found among leaders of the world's progressive movements.

BOOK NOTES

Edited by PRINCE HOPKINS

BUDDHISTS, CHILDREN AND SUFFRAGETTES

ANYONE interested in Oriental religions will find Lewis Houdous' *BUDDHISM AND BUDDHISTS IN CHINA* (Macmillan, 1924) a handy manual. Intended mainly for the use of missionaries, it is yet a very sympathetic treatment of its subject. The religion which claims the largest number of adherents of any extant, is expounded, not so much from the point of view of its history or philosophy, as from that of its working practice today. Its propaganda-methods form a particularly interesting subject.

By all means the best book which Oskar Pfister has yet written appears to me to be his *LOVE IN CHILDREN*, translated by Eden and Cedar Paul (Dodd, Mead & Co., 1924). Hitherto, this psycho-analyst has hardly done justice to his qualities, in his writings. Ardent radicals will find in here, hints as to how they can avoid the frequent experience of finding their sons and daughters antagonistic to all that they are fighting for. Readers who have found most psycho-analytic books unconvincing because they seemed abstract and theoretical, will find herein cases after case described, in which the Freudian mechanisms are seen to be working. Above all, this large volume, easy reading as it nevertheless is, will be of incalculable help to parents who wish to bring up their children free from nervous ailments.

A novel containing some very good descriptive passages, especially of the indignities inflicted upon the suffragettes in jail, is Dorothy Day's *THE ELEVENTH VIRGIN* (Albert & Charles Boni, 1924, \$2.00). This applies especially to the second half of the story. In the first half, which is about the adolescence of the heroine, the authoress seems less interested in her tale, and words it badly and with less success from the point of view of continuity. The two arguments of the book are: that when young people aren't properly enlightened about sexual matters, they discuss them themselves in a morbid way; and that women go into the radical movement only as a substitute for married life, and quit it when they get a husband.

PESSIMISTIC!

DID you ever get an idea, carry it out imperfectly, and years later discover that the same idea had been worked out independently—and much better—by someone else? I once wrote a book called *AN INSTINCTIVE PHILOSOPHY*, basing each chapter on one of the "instincts" listed by Wm. James. This was to be one of a series of five volumes; but then I learned to suspect that the list of "instincts" and the school of psychology based on them were not very scientific. I now come upon a book, *POLITICAL ACTION* (J. B. Lippincott, 1924), in which the author, Prof. Seba Eldridge, has started out in a precisely similar way.

So he starts with an inadequate psychological basis, ignoring completely the recent schools. Yet by the employment of natural good sense, abundant information, and keen insight into the roots of economic problems, he has managed to write an exceedingly worth while volume!

A pretty pessimistic volume, to be sure—as Prof. E. C. Hayes notes in an introduction to it. It affords a lot of ammunition for those who despair of the power of free speech, liberalism, concessionism, parliamentarism, and perhaps even of the democratic ideal, to solve our problems.

Hayes, by the way, is the general editor of Lippincott's Sociological series, of which the present book is the third to be published. Six more are in preparation, which—if they maintain the standard of the present one—and the names of their authors indicate that they will—will be well worth the attention of LABOR AGE readers.

More pessimism follows the reading of another book—B. Liber's *AS A DOCTOR SEES IT*. (Critic and Guide Co., 1924). His sketches are, in fact, a trifle harrowing. They are a physician's notes on his cases, with the too technical features omitted, and served up with very considerable literary skill. They deal mainly with the avoidable sorrow which results from our chaotic social order, our evil laws, and our acquiescence in men and women being kept ignorant of their own organic nature.

LOOKING AT LIFE, by Floyd Dell, (Alfred A. Knopf, 1924, \$2.50 net) is a book of essays on books and other matters. The relative merits of the different essays is very uneven. They are all light of tone; some say rather wise things. They have a sprightly, journalistic style. It is not Dell at his best.

In sharp contrast to Dell's more or less finished work is the novel, *BEHOLD THIS DREAMER*, by Fulton Oursler (The Macaulay Co., 1924.) It is an unusually good piece of character analysis, for the first novel of a young writer. This applies to all the characters, and especially to the neurotic heroine. Nevertheless, the book strikes us as "slushy" and hardly worthy of the inscribed poem of Richard Le Gallienne.

A MERCHANT ON PROFIT-SHARING

WE who call ourselves radical, view with suspicion the efforts of business men to enlist the interest of their employes by profit-sharing and similar schemes. We'd rather that the workers assumed the responsibility of initiating and running their own co-operative enterprises.

But we ought to know just what rivalry we're up against. We ought even to get rid of the antiquated phantasy that no individual capitalist seeks anything but to exploit his men. Some, like A. Lincoln Filene, who tells about his plan in *A MERCHANT'S HORIZON* (Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924. \$2.50) are obviously interested in the welfare of their wage-earners, and sincerely try to encourage them to take a greater share in the control of the factory or store. Filene is one of the rare ones who also appreciates the workers' desire to run their supply-purchasing and welfare organizations themselves, without subsidy or patronage.

GANDHI AND JESUS

I knew that any book written by Romain Roland would be written in a beautiful, brief style. I felt sure that his book on *MAHATMA GANDHI* (Century Co., 1924, \$1.50 net) would be a sympathetic appreciation of his eastern great fellow-pacifist. What I was less prepared for was, the candor, with which, in spite of this sympathy, Roland admits Gandhi's shortcomings. The volume isn't, like so many biographies of living men, a mere eulogy; it rises far above that.

An introduction by Sir J. G. Frazer (author of "The Golden Bough,") is testimony to the scholarly character of *THE ENIGMA OF JESUS*, by Dr. P. L. Couchoud, just translated from the French. (Watts & Co., London, 1924, 3/6 net.) The present little book is the precursor of a more elaborate work, still to be published. Dr. Couchoud's thesis is, that the Christ story originated in a vision by Peter, taken up and chanted and preached to the world by Paul. At first, Christ represented only a new aspect of God. Later, the Christian sect conceived of him also having been a man, and humanized the legend as it appears in the other Gospels, which we are to regard as less old than the Pauline epistles.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of LABOR AGE, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for October 1, 1924. State of New York, County of New York, ss.

Before me, a notary public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Louis F. Budenz, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Managing Editor of LABOR AGE, and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, Labor Publication Society, 91 Seventh Avenue, New York City; editors, J. F. Anderson, Stuart Chase, Max D. Danish, H. W. Laidler, Prince Hopkins, Phil Ziegler, 91 Seventh Avenue, New York City; Managing Editor, Louis F. Budenz; Business Manager, none.
2. That the owners are the Labor Publication Society, a non-stock corporation; approximate membership, 200; 91 Seventh Avenue, New York City; President, James H. Maurer, Harrisburg, Pa.; Secretary, I. M. Budish, 621 Broadway, New York City; Treasurer, Abraham Baroff, 3 West 16th Street, New York City.
3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

LOUIS F. BUDENZ, Managing Editor.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 22nd day of October, 1924.

(SEAL)

MAX KRAFTSCHICK,
Notary Public, New York County.
(My commission expires March 30, 1926.)

We Should Be Thankful

That We did not fall victims to the GREAT SCARE OF 1924.

That the Progressive Movement will go on, until Farmer-Labor Control of the American Government is established.

That the Labor and Progressive Press is growing, in order to make this Movement more effective.

That LABOR AGE is in our midst, to continue the job of pioneering in American Labor Thought, just as it pointed the way for the Progressive Movement.

As We Are Thankful—

Please show it, Brother, by spreading the fame and works of LABOR AGE.

The best way to do that is to get us three or four new subscribers by January 1, 1925.

Don't Forget—

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